

RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN
LIBRARY



Reg. No. 87

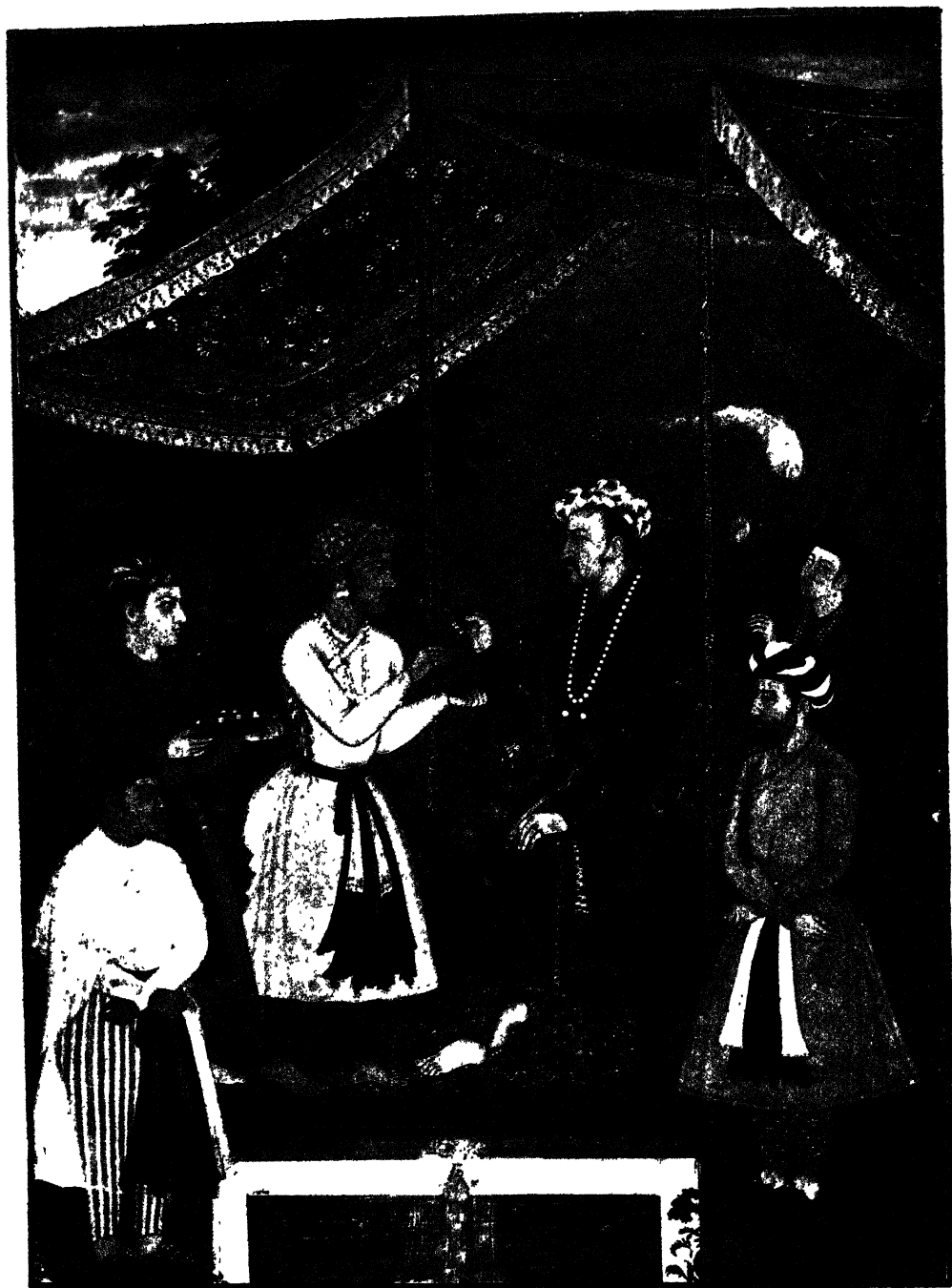
Clas. No. III (d) - B.



(LIBRARY)

Class No.....

[illegible]



JAHĀNGĪR

DRINKING WINE UNDER A CANOPY

BY MANOHAR

THE COURT PAINTERS
OF THE
GRAND MOGULS

BY
LAURENCE BINYON

WITH HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION
AND NOTES

BY
T. W. ARNOLD

HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK
TORONTO MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN BOMBAY

1921

PRINTED IN ENGLAND
AT THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
BY FREDERICK HALL

CONTENTS

	PAGE
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	5
INTRODUCTION	9
COURT PAINTERS OF THE GRAND MOGULS	35
NOTES	69

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Plate I. Jahāngīr drinking wine under a canopy: by Manohar.
In colour. (British Museum, Stowe Or. 16) *Frontispiece*
- Plate II. The temptation of Erij by the Magician Ankarat.
 (Victoria and Albert Museum) facing p. 8
- Plate III. Umar Shaikh, the father of Bābur, on a hunting expedition. (British Museum, Add. 18801) facing p. 10
- Plate IV. Bābur laying out a garden: by Nānhā and Bishan Dās.
 (Victoria and Albert Museum) facing p. 12
- Plate V. Humāyūn: by Bhagvatī. (British Museum, Add. 18801)
 facing p. 14
- Plate VI. A young prince visiting an ascetic. *In colour.*
 (Collection of Captain Spencer-Churchill) facing p. 16
- Plate VII. Princess Humāy playing polo: by Sānwlah. (British Museum, Or. 4615) facing p. 18
- Plate VIII. Building a wall against Gog and Magog: by Qāsim.
 (British Museum, Add. 5600) facing p. 20
- Plate IX. Akbar inspecting the building of Fathpur-Sikrī.
 (Victoria and Albert Museum) facing p. 22
- Plate X. (a) Abul Fazl, (b) Dārā Shikoh: by Anūpchatar.
 (c) Akbar (India Office Library, Johnson LVII and XXIV) facing p. 24
- Plate XI. Akbar on a raging elephant. (Bodleian Library, MS. Pers. b. 1) facing p. 26
- Plate XII. Akbar hunting. (British Museum, Add. 22. 363)
 facing p. 28
- Plate XIII. Humāyūn, Akbar, Jahāngīr, and Shāh Jahān; part of a large painting. (British Museum) facing p. 30

- Plate XIV. Jahāngīr crossing a lake. (British Museum, 22470)
facing p. 32
- Plate XV. Reputed portrait of Nūr Jahān, wife of Jahāngīr. *In colour*. (Bodleian Library, MS. Douce, O. c. 4)
facing p. 34
- Plate XVI. Parvīz visiting a teacher. (British Museum, Stowe Or. 16) facing p. 36
- Plate XVII. Shāh Jahān visiting a mullā. (British Museum, Add. 1372) facing p. 38
- Plate XVIII. A dance of Dervishes. *In colour*. (Collection of Captain Spencer-Churchill) facing p. 40
- Plate XIX. Group of Indian saints: detail from the last painting.
facing p. 40
- Plate XX. Durbar of Shāh Jahān; unfinished. (British Museum, Add. 18801) facing p. 42
- Plate XXI. Durbar of Shāh Jahān. (Bodleian Library, Ouseley Add. 173) facing p. 44
- Plate XXII. Dārā Shikoh with Lāl Sāhib Faqīr in a garden. (India Office Library, Johnson XIX) facing p. 46
- Plate XXIII. Reading the Qur'ān. (India Office Library, Dārā Shikoh album) facing p. 48
- Plate XXIV. The dying man. *In colour*. (Bodleian Library)
facing p. 50
- Plate XXV. Shīr Muḥammad; with heads of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān above: by Muḥammad Nādir. (British Museum, Add. 18801) facing p. 52
- Plate XXVI. 'Alā al-Mulk Tūnī: by Chitarman. (British Museum, Add. 18801) facing p. 54
- Plate XXVII. Ṣādiq Khān, father of Ja'far Khān: by Govardhan. (British Museum, Add. 18801) facing p. 56
- Plate XXVIII. Group of ascetics: by Hūnhār. (Collection of Professor William Rothenstein) facing p. 58

- Plate XXIX. Mirzā Abul Hasan: by Hūnhār. (British Museum, Add. 18801) facing p. 60
- Plate XXX. Asad Khān leaning on a stick. *In colour*. (India Office Library, Johnson I) facing p. 62
- Plate XXXI. A lady under a blossoming tree. (India Office Library, Dārā Shikoh album) facing p. 64
- Plate XXXII. Fākhīr Khān and his son. (Bodleian Library, Ouseley Add. 167) facing p. 66
- Plate XXXIII. Mullā Shāh and Miān Mīr. (Bodleian Library, Ouseley Add. 167) facing p. 68
- Plate XXXIV. Hunting by night. *In colour*. (Bodleian Library) facing p. 70
- Plate XXXV. Aurangzib: by Anupchatar. (Bodleian Library, Ouseley Add. 173) facing p. 72
- Plate XXXVI. Reception of an embassy by Aurangzib. (Bodleian Library, Ouseley Add. 173) facing p. 74
- Plate XXXVII. Kāmbakhsh, son of Aurangzib. (Bodleian Library, Ouseley Add. 173) facing p. 76
- Plate XXXVIII. Portrait of a horse. (British Museum, Stowe Or. 16) facing p. 78
- Plate XXXIX. Falcon on perch. *In colour*. (British Museum, Stowe Or. 16) facing p. 80
- Plate XL. Girl under a tree by a river. (British Museum, Stowe Or. 16) facing p. 82



THE TEMPTATION OF ERII

BY THE MAGICIAN ANKARAT

INTRODUCTION

BY T. W. ARNOLD

IT is impossible for the twentieth century to recapture the thrill of wonder and delight with which our ancestors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries read the accounts of the court of the 'Grand Mogul', which travellers in India brought back to Europe. The 'Thousand and One Nights' were as yet unknown to the Christian world, and descriptions of the riches and magnificence of Akbar and his descendants gratified that sense of the marvellous and the grandiose which is so readily awakened by tales of the gorgeous East. Prester John and other oriental potentates who had filled so large a place in the imagination of the Middle Ages had become wellnigh forgotten, and the lively interest aroused in geographical discovery and in the realities of the contemporary world that was being revealed by the seamen and adventurers of the Elizabethan age and those that followed after them, assured for the reports of merchants, ambassadors, missionaries, and other visitors to the East an eager audience among generations that had never heard of Hārūn ur-Rashīd. Akbar received an envoy from Queen Elizabeth, and James I sent Sir Thomas Roe as his ambassador to Jahāngīr, and these were among the first of a long series of travellers whose writings quickly attracted attention. The interest that their narrations awakened had for their contemporaries all the charm of novelty; but, even for us, lapse of time has not diminished the attractiveness of those Mughal princes whose culture and just administration were such a novelty to

ages less accustomed than our own to appreciation of oriental civilizations. For it was a wonderful family—this Mughal house, which reigned in India for three hundred years, and for six generations went on enlarging the boundaries of its empire. Conquerors and warriors we might well expect in such a troublous time for the whole world; but the achievements of the Mughal emperors in the arts of peace, their administrative genius and power of organization, the great monuments of architecture they built, have rendered them still more illustrious than all their battles and conquests by themselves could have done.

No contemporary princely family showed so remarkable a literary gift. The *Memoirs of Bābur* form one of the most lively documents of self-revelation in all the literature of autobiography; his daughter, Gulbadan, wrote with attractiveness and charm, though naturally not with the same vigour and directness as her father.¹ Akbar indeed, despite his zeal for knowledge and wide literary interest, was illiterate, but his son, Jahāngīr, wrote *Memoirs* that record every detail of his reign for eleven years. His grandson, Dārā Shikoh, made important contributions to the literature of Muslim religious history and mystical thought, and it was through his translation of the *Upanishads* that Schopenhauer came to know of that system of Hindu metaphysic which so profoundly influenced his own thinking.

The materials for the study of the history of the royal house are abundant and readily accessible, in Persian annals, a large proportion of which have been translated into English, and in contemporary records by English, French, and Italian visitors to their court, and these sources have been industriously investigated, and elucidated by a number of modern historians, with marked ability and success. But Indian history still

¹ Both these have been translated by Mrs. Annette S. Beveridge, and the writer is indebted to these translations for the quotations in the following pages.



UMAR SHAIKH

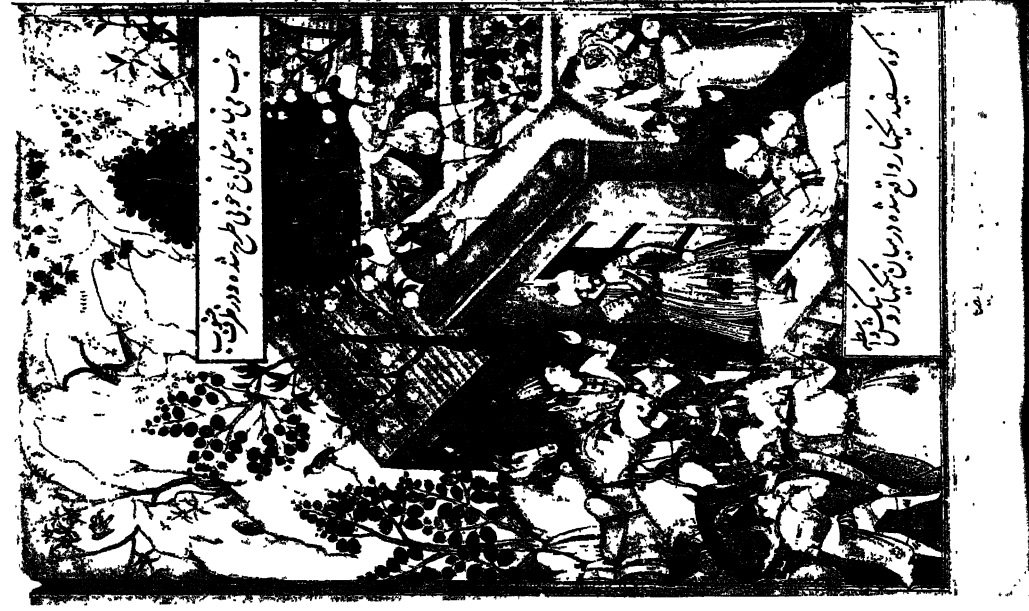
THE FATHER OF BĀBUR, ON A HUNTING EXPEDITION

appeals to but a narrow circle of readers, and it has been judged that the present collection of reproductions of the work of Indian artists may usefully be introduced, by a brief historical sketch, to those students of Indian painting who are perplexed by the unfamiliarity of oriental names, but may be interested to know something of the personalities whose portraiture appeals to their artistic feeling.

The founder of the Mughal dynasty was Bābur, a Turkish prince, a direct descendant, in the fifth generation, of Tīmūr (better known to the European reader as Tamerlane). In the time of Bābur, the fortunes of the house of Tīmūr had sunk very low, and his father, the king of Farghana, ruled over one of those petty princedoms into which the dominions of Tīmūr had been split. Bābur's father met his death in 1494 by a curious accident ; he was interested in the breeding of tumbler pigeons, and one day he had gone into a tower built on the side of a hill, sloping down to the river, when suddenly the tower collapsed, and (as Bābur quaintly puts it) he 'flew, with his pigeons and their house, and became a falcon', i. e. winged his flight to the other world. Bābur was not twelve years old when the news of his father's death reached him, but with great promptitude he rode with his retainers into the citadel of the capital ; his father's nobles rallied round him, and successfully resisted the attacks of rival claimants to the throne. Child though he was, the young prince was at once plunged into the midst of warlike operations arising not only from the insecurity of his own position, but from the distracted condition of the neighbouring territories, and he began his training in that art of war which was to be the main preoccupation of his life. At the outset the leading influence in the organization of the kingdom was exercised by his grandmother, Aisan-Daulat Begam, a Mongol princess, the first of that long series of remarkable women who played so important a part in the fortunes of his house. One of Bābur's earliest ambitions was

the conquest of Samarqand, which had been the capital of his great ancestor, Tīmūr; when he was only fourteen years of age he laid siege to it, but after three or four months was forced to withdraw; on two later occasions he succeeded in gaining possession of this city, only to be driven out again by the Uzbegs. In 1504 he resolved to try his fortunes elsewhere, and, crossing the Hindu-Kush, made himself master of the city of Kabul, which had formerly been ruled by one of his uncles. After one more brief occupation of Samarqand, he abandoned all further attempts towards the north, and turned his eyes towards India. On several occasions he made raids from Kabul, but it was not until 1525 that he started off on the expedition that was to win for him the throne of Delhi, and on the field of Panipat, which was destined to witness in later times two more decisive battles, he broke the power of the Afghan dynasty that had ruled in Delhi for over seventy years; next he had to meet the force of the Rajput confederacy before he could make his position secure, and the battle of Kanua in 1527, in which the Rajputs were utterly defeated, completed the conquest of Northern India, for which the battle of Panipat, the year before, had prepared the way. But his triumph was short-lived; the climate of India did not suit him and he suffered from frequent attacks of fever; at the age of forty-eight he passed away on December 26, 1530, in his palace at Agra.

The last days of Bābur are touched by a peculiar pathos, the memory of which still thrills the heart of every Indian Musalman. His son, Humāyūn, became dangerously ill about the beginning of the hot weather of 1530. Bābur, himself in failing health, had recently expressed a wish to resign his kingly duties, saying, 'My heart is afflicted with the cares of rule and governance; I will live in retirement in a garden; a single servant will suffice for my needs, and I will make over the kingdom to Humāyūn.' He gave orders for his sick son to be brought to



Agra; Humāyūn's mother hastened to meet him, 'like one athirst who is cut off from access to water', and found him ten times weaker and more exhausted than report had led her to believe. He was in a very critical condition by the time he reached the palace in Agra, and could only utter a few words in the intervals of his fainting fits. The doctors had to confess that the case baffled their skill, and it was suggested that only by some supreme sacrifice could the life of the sufferer be saved. A courtier suggested that the great diamond—identified by some with the Koh-i-nūr—which had come out of the treasury of the defeated Raja of Gwalior, and whose value was estimated by Bābur at the cost of 'two and a half days' food for the whole world', should be given in alms, but Bābur resolved that the greatest sacrifice that he could make for his son was that of his own life. Invoking the intercession of 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet, he performed the solemn rite; three times he went round and round the sick-bed of his son, praying, 'O God, if a life may be given in exchange for a life, freely do I, Bābur, give my life and being for Humāyūn'. The weather was terribly hot (his daughter tells us), and 'his heart and his liver burned', and from that very day he grew weaker; and when Humāyūn rose from his bed and came forth and gave audience, his father was carried into the palace, to linger there for two or three months and die, after naming Humāyūn as his successor and commending to his care his kinsfolk and subjects.

Bābur's life was almost one continuous campaign; the time he did not spend in war and in flight from his enemies, he gave up to hunting or to drinking-bouts. He swam across every river that came in his way, and even the year before his death he swam the Ganges, 'counting every stroke' (he tells us in his Memoirs); 'I crossed it with thirty-three, then, without resting, swam back again. I had swum the other rivers, the Ganges had remained to do.' Though leading such a strenuous

life, he was an educated and well-read man, and a poet as well as a writer of a terse and vigorous prose. A keen observer of the natural world, he describes in detail birds, beasts, and fishes, trees and fruits (he counts up thirty-two varieties of tulips on the hills near Kabul), and he never wearies of expatiating on the delights of a garden. With an equally discerning vision, he sums up the characteristics of his friends in a few brief sentences; e.g. of one of his father's officers, who was of lowly origin, he writes: 'Till he was a made man his conduct was excellent; once arrived, he became slack. He was full of talk, and of foolish talk—a great talker is sure to be a foolish one—his capacity was limited and his brain muddy.' But his interest in art seems to have been but slight. He does indeed mention Bihzād as 'the most eminent of painters', but his criticism of this great painter shows how little capable he was of appreciating or understanding him. All he says of this supreme artist is that 'his work was very dainty, but he did not draw beardless faces well; he used greatly to lengthen the double-chin; bearded faces he drew admirably'. But that he had painters working under his patronage is clear from the Alwar MS. of the Persian version of his Memoirs; the colophon of this manuscript gives the date of Bābur's death, and the illustrations in it therefore represent the style of painting of his period.¹

Dashing soldier as he was, ambitious for conquest and glory, and skilful as a strategist and a leader of armies, Bābur appears to have had but little genius for administration. With his passionate enjoyment of an outdoor life he was probably impatient of the routine of office. After his conquests in India, he adopted the simple expedient of dividing his dominions among the great nobles, making each of them responsible for the good order of the district under his control. When the strong hand of the conqueror was withdrawn, the weakness of

¹ Seven of these pictures have been reproduced in *An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century*, by L. F. Rushbrook Williams (London, 1918).



HUMĀYŪN

BY BHAGVATĪ

the system soon made itself felt, and early in his reign, Humāyūn had to face rebellions of his nobles, the hostile intrigues of his brothers, and mutiny in his army. Most formidable of all was the insurrection of the Afghan nobles, who had not forgotten that a king of their own race had ruled in Delhi only a few years before. Under the leadership of Sher Shāh, they inflicted a severe defeat on Humāyūn at Chaunsa in 1539; the greater part of the emperor's army was either captured or drowned in the Ganges, and Humāyūn himself was only saved by a water-carrier who supported him on a water-skin across the river, and he made his way back to Agra almost alone. A year later, Sher Shāh struck another crushing blow at Humāyūn, who again barely escaped with his life and fled into the Panjab, with the dispirited remnant of his army. From that time he was a wanderer and an exile for fifteen years, first in the deserts of Rajputana and Sind; then in 1544, abandoning hope of regaining his kingdom in India, he took refuge with Shāh Tahmāsp in Persia.

Humāyūn spent about a year in Persia, and his visit may not have been without significance in the history of Muhammadan painting in India. Shāh Tahmāsp (1524-76) was an enthusiastic patron of art, and some of the finest Persian paintings were produced at his court. Bihzād lived on into his reign, and among his court painters were Mirak and others, the greatest masters in design and colour in the whole history of Persian art. Humāyūn spent much of his time in Persia in sight-seeing; his sister records that 'in Khurasan His Majesty visited all the gardens and the flower-gardens, and the splendid buildings put up by Sultan Husain Mirzā, and the grand structures of olden days'. The Shāh made special arrangements for his guest to see the ruins of Persepolis, and 'in various ways showed good feeling, and every day sent presents of rare and strange things'. It may be well assumed that Shāh Tahmāsp, who himself dabbled in painting,

would not refrain from exhibiting to his guest some examples of the work of the painters whom he so liberally encouraged.

It was not until 1555 that Humāyūn was able to return to India. He had succeeded in recovering some part of his father's kingdom in Afghanistan, and seized the opportunity presented by the disturbed condition of India, after the death of Sher Shāh, to descend from Kabul with 15,000 horse, occupy the Panjab, and take possession of Delhi and Agra. But he lived only six months to enjoy his newly recovered kingdom. He had gone up to the top of a building in his palace at Delhi, which he used as his library; it has a flat roof which is reached by a steep and narrow flight of stone steps; the muezzin was just intoning the call for evening prayer when Humāyūn turned to descend; he slipped and fell to the bottom of the staircase, and died three days later from the injuries he had received.

Akbar was only thirteen years old when the news of his father's death reached him in the Panjab, of which he had been formally appointed governor two months before. The only parts of India that his father left him as his inheritance were Delhi and certain districts of the Panjab; these were at the time desolated by a terrible famine, and his sovereignty over them was threatened by rival claimants. So perilous was the situation that some of his military advisers even urged an immediate retreat upon Kabul and the abandonment of India altogether. But the boy-king had by his side an experienced general, Bairām Khān, who inspired the Mughal troops with his own energy and determination, and a few months later (November 5, 1556) the victory at Panipat over the forces of the degenerate descendants of Sher Shāh opened for Akbar the gates of Delhi and Agra, and secured for the young prince a vantage ground for further conquests. But the process was slow, and during his long reign of nearly fifty years, Akbar seldom knew what it was to spend a whole twelvemonth without



A YOUNG PRINCE
VISITING AN ASCETIC

the cares of a campaign. He had to contend both with the forces of his co-religionists and those of the Hindu principalities. The Afghans were firmly established in Bengal, which for nearly three centuries had been an independent kingdom under Muhammadan rulers, and it was not until 1576 that Akbar succeeded in making it a province of his empire. The Rajputs were equally formidable opponents and indeed never made complete submission, for the Rana of Udaipur succeeded in maintaining his independence in proud isolation; but after the fall of Chitor (in 1568) and other Rajput strongholds, these intrepid warriors began to range themselves on the side of a monarch who had not only established his superiority over them in battle, but treated them with generosity and indulgence. Some of the outlying provinces of Akbar's empire were not annexed until much later—Kashmir in 1587, Orissa in 1590, Sind in 1592—and his armies had made but little progress in the Deccan when death put an end to his ambition.

Like his grandfather, Akbar was a tireless campaigner and fearless in battle. He is said on one occasion to have ridden from Ajmir to Agra, a distance of 240 miles, in a day and a night, and in one campaign his advance was so rapid that he left the greater part of his army behind and had only 500 men and some elephants with him with which to engage the enemy. He gave close attention to the details of military science, and is said to have invented a gun-barrel of spirally rolled iron that could not burst, and a machine for firing seventeen guns simultaneously with a single match. At the storming of Chitor in 1568 it was a bullet from Akbar's own musket which killed Jai Mal, the commandant of the fortress, in those days considered impregnable. Chitor lies in the middle of a broad plain, on an isolated hill, 400 feet high, about eight miles round at its base and nearly six at the summit; the fort was garrisoned by seasoned Rajput troops well supplied with provisions and munitions of war. Akbar invested it with

a much inferior force and only succeeded in effecting an entry after a strenuous siege lasting for four months ; it was the emperor's lucky shot, depriving the garrison of their leader, which made them despair of further resistance. The Rajput ladies, following the proud traditions of their race, immolated themselves in the flames, rather than fall into the hands of the conqueror, while their husbands and brothers died sword in hand, disputing every step of the invader's entry. Akbar punished the resistance of the garrison by ordering a general massacre in which upwards of thirty thousand persons are said to have perished.

Unlike his Timurid ancestors, Akbar was illiterate, and his tutors never succeeded in getting him to learn to read or write. His love of animals and his boyish enthusiasm for an outdoor life—hunting and martial exercises—appear to have kept him thus strangely ignorant, and the strenuous life he led after his father's death left him little leisure for rectifying this defect. But his insatiable love of knowledge and his marvellously retentive memory largely compensated for the lack of early training. He collected an enormous library, which after his death was reckoned to be worth more than £700,000. He had books translated from Arabic, Sanskrit, and other languages into Persian for his use, and every day had them read to him by experienced readers. He would himself mark with his own pen the place at which a reader left off on any occasion, and reward him with a gift of gold or silver, according to the number of pages he had read. He took special pleasure in works of theology and mysticism, and had them read over to him again and again, and would hold long discussions with the representatives of different faiths—Christians, Hindus, Muslims, and Parsees. 'Discourses on philosophy', he said, 'have such an attraction for me that they distract me from all else, and I have forcibly to restrain myself from listening to them, lest the necessary duties of the hour should be neglected.'

جبرون دشمنان و همه بزرگان سبب آمدند
 روایت میکند که چون روز پنجشنبه جبرون بر سر نواده دیگر بزرگان حاضر شدند و خدمت کردند و گفتند ای
 ملک جهان باد ملک بر تو ماند و به و نه را جان فدای تو باد و هر آنکس که کنی از تو مشغول مدار که اگر او
 پایدار لشکر کشیم و با وی جنگ کنیم و چنانکه شایسته و اگر از بهر آن غنای که گویی که این که در وقت است برویم
 و او را بیاوریم و او را بکشیم و اگر این همه لشکر چشمش بود و دلش قوی و از تا قوتش و کارش و او را بکشیم
 ساهی گفت از شما که شما میگویند چنانکه امام روزی چند است که دلش است همه بزرگان بخندای مکه بصحرای
 بیرون شتافت و دست بکشید باز را بر سر نواده و روزی را بر آسمان و یک را بر سر گوش و غلامان را کوی دن نمای حامی غلام
 تا روز دیگر همه بزرگان حاضر شوند از بزرگان غلامان و بزرگان آینه بیل از درگاه و بزرگان و بزرگان که در
 و سید مرده و کاه و دهنای زرین شاد می برآمد که امر و زمامی در میدان کوی خواهد زد و نیکو بایست
 لشکر بای در کتاب کردند و میدان بیرون آمدند و بیل بیل است روایت کرد و دوس کرد و دوس همه



و چون که نامی از چاه رفت ای بزرگوار و دروغ مندر ای او را و روشنی چون آید چون میدان آمدند و در میان
 و چون که نامی از چاه رفت ای بزرگوار و دروغ مندر ای او را و روشنی چون آید چون میدان آمدند و در میان
 برآمد بر کبی میدان چاه ای بزرگوار و دروغ مندر ای او را و روشنی چون آید چون میدان آمدند و در میان

کوهی بازی کردن غلامان حامی بفرموده حاکم
 سبب آمدند

PRINCESS HUMĀY
 PLAYING POLO
 BY SĀNWLAH

a much inferior force and only succeeded in effecting an entry after a strenuous siege lasting for four months ; it was the emperor's lucky shot, depriving the garrison of their leader, which made them despair of further resistance. The Rajput ladies, following the proud traditions of their race, immolated themselves in the flames, rather than fall into the hands of the conqueror, while their husbands and brothers died sword in hand, disputing every step of the invader's entry. Akbar punished the resistance of the garrison by ordering a general massacre in which upwards of thirty thousand persons are said to have perished.

Unlike his Timurid ancestors, Akbar was illiterate, and his tutors never succeeded in getting him to learn to read or write. His love of animals and his boyish enthusiasm for an outdoor life—hunting and martial exercises—appear to have kept him thus strangely ignorant, and the strenuous life he led after his father's death left him little leisure for rectifying this defect. But his insatiable love of knowledge and his marvellously retentive memory largely compensated for the lack of early training. He collected an enormous library, which after his death was reckoned to be worth more than £700,000. He had books translated from Arabic, Sanskrit, and other languages into Persian for his use, and every day had them read to him by experienced readers. He would himself mark with his own pen the place at which a reader left off on any occasion, and reward him with a gift of gold or silver, according to the number of pages he had read. He took special pleasure in works of theology and mysticism, and had them read over to him again and again, and would hold long discussions with the representatives of different faiths—Christians, Hindus, Muslims, and Parsees. 'Discourses on philosophy', he said, 'have such an attraction for me that they distract me from all else, and I have forcibly to restrain myself from listening to them, lest the necessary duties of the hour should be neglected.'

جبر و نرشناو و همه بزرگان سبب آمدند
روایت میکند که چون روز پنجم جبر و نرشناو و دیگر بزرگان حاضر شدند و خدمت کردند و گفتند ای
مکمل جهان با ملک بر تو مانند و در ابراجان فدای تو و ابراجان فدای تو ای که هر کس کوچکی از تو مشغول مدار که اگر او
نباید از تو گشتیم و ما و بی جهت گنیم و ملاک گشتیم و اگر از بهر آن غنائی که گوئی که این که گوئی که در قیامت برویم
و او را با بریم تو ای که در لوح مشر و اگر این همه که گشتیم تو و از نود و نول قوی و از نود و نول قوی و از نود و نول قوی
سای گفت از اینجا که شما میگویند سبب نیست اما ما روزی به جهت که دلکشت همه بزرگان کشتای مکمل بعضی
پروین شد و دولت کجاست باز را بر بنیو که باز و یوز را بر آمو و یک را بر خوش غلام را که یون و غنائی جامی و یوز
تا روز دیگر همه بدان حاضر شوند از بزرگان غنائی و با یک آینه میل از درگاه برخاست و بانک که درگاه
و سپید مهره و کلاه و حرم و غنائی زرین شد و می را بداند که امر و زمامی در سپیدان کوی خواجده زون کجاست
لنگرهای در درکاب کردند و بمیدان سروان داخل خلعت را بست رات کرد و دوس کرد و دوس همه

[illegible]

کوشی بازی کردن علما مانع نمی شود و نه عمار

At one time the Christian missionaries, whom he had invited to his court, had hopes of his conversion, and he placed one of his sons, Murād, under the tuition of the Jesuit fathers ; at another time he was attracted by the Zoroastrian faith, learned the rites and ceremonies of the Parsee religion, and began to prostrate himself in public before the sun and before fire, and ordered his courtiers to rise when the candles and lamps were lighted in the palace. His interest in Hinduism was evinced by the many translations he had made for himself from the Sanskrit, and the long hours he spent in private with Brahmans, learning their doctrines and modes of worship. From them he adopted the belief in the transmigration of souls, and forswore the eating of beef. He openly showed his sympathy for what was the religion of the majority of his subjects by appearing one day in the hall of audience with a Hindu sectarian mark on his forehead. But to none of these rival creeds could he give his whole-hearted allegiance, and about 1582 he conceived the idea of establishing a universal religion, styled 'Divine Monotheism', which was designed to supersede all the other religions of his empire. It is much to the credit of Akbar's generous toleration that he made no attempt to force this new faith upon his subjects, and he expressed his penitence for having exhibited intolerance in his earlier days. 'Formerly I persecuted men into conformity with my faith and deemed it Islam ; as I grew in knowledge, I was overwhelmed with shame ; not being a Muslim myself, it was unmeet to force others to become such ; for what constancy can be expected from proselytes on compulsion ?' Akbar's new religion perished with its author, and even during his lifetime it found few adherents, except among the emperor's personal friends.

Akbar's attitude towards the art of painting is not unconnected with his rejection of Muslim orthodoxy. A well-known Tradition of Muhammad condemns painting as an assumption

by mortal man of the divine function of the Creator ; on the day of judgement, God will call upon the painter to put life into the creations of his art ; when he confesses his inability to do so, the unfortunate wretch will be sent to hell. It is clearly this tradition that Akbar had in mind when, in the oft-quoted passage, he defends the painter as having quite special opportunities for the recognition of God ; for in the very exercise of his art, as he draws limb after limb, he realizes that he cannot give life to his work, and his thoughts are thus turned to God, the giver of life. So far, therefore, from painting implying presumption, it is represented by Akbar as prompting to devout humility. As a boy Akbar had himself taken drawing lessons, and to his personal interest in and his patronage of painting is due the great impulse that this art received during his reign. He took an equal pleasure in music and singing, and is said to have been a skilled drummer.

In spite of his keen interest in matters of religious and philosophic speculation, and the many hours he spent on study and debate, Akbar always led a strenuous and active life. He was a perfect horseman and could control even the most intractable elephant. He was fearless and indefatigable as a huntsman, and was always ready to face the most dangerous beasts of prey. At the same time he exercised a personal control over every department of state, and 'in the business of government he had the rare faculty of combining a firm grasp on principles with minute attention to details'. How far the credit for the revenue system elaborated in his reign is due to his great finance minister, Todar Mall, or to Akbar himself, it is not easy to determine, but it is a remarkable testimony to the wise statesmanship which established this system, that in several provinces of India to the present day the principles and practice in the assessment of land-revenue are essentially the same as those worked out by Akbar and his ministers. A comparison of this many-sided monarch with contemporary rulers in Europe



BUILDING A WALL

AGAINST GOG AND MAGOG

By QĀSIM

easily establishes the pre-eminence of Akbar—if, indeed, he may not claim to take rank among the greatest kings in the history of the world.

Genius on the throne seldom finds a worthy successor, and Akbar's heir, Prince Salīm, who on his accession took the name of Jahāngīr ('the world-grasper'), was an opium-eater and a drunkard. He was the child of many prayers, for all Akbar's previous children had died in infancy, and he had sought the intercession of many a Muslim saint, before a holy hermit, Salīm Chishtī, dwelling on a rocky ridge about twenty-three miles from Agra, promised him that his prayers for a son and heir would be answered. Jahāngīr's mother, a Rajput princess, in 1569 gave birth to the future emperor in the cell of the hermit, and in gratitude for the fulfilment of his hopes, Akbar established his capital on the ridge, afterwards known as Fathpur-Sikrī; here he built the great mosque and the palaces that are among the finest architectural monuments of his reign.

Akbar's military achievements and statesmanship left his son in the possession of an empire stretching from Kabul to Chittagong and from Kashmir to the borders of the Deccan, and Jahāngīr had the good sense to leave the administration to be carried on upon much the same lines as Akbar had laid down. He lost Kandahar, which was taken by Shāh Abbās of Persia in 1622, but on the whole he had reason to be satisfied with the military achievements of his generals, who left him free to follow his own tastes and pleasures.

He owed much to his talented and ambitious wife, Nūr Jahān, who with the help of her father, I'timād ud-Daula, and her brother, Asaf Khān, practically ruled the kingdom for the greater part of this reign. She is said to have excited the admiration of Jahāngīr before her marriage to one of Akbar's officers, who carried her away with him to his fief in Bengal; after Jahāngīr's accession this officer was reported to be insubordinate and rebellious, and was killed under circumstances which have

(without justification) excited suspicions that the emperor connived at his murder; his widow was brought into the royal household, but it was not until four years later that she became Jahāngīr's wife. Her influence increased so rapidly that Jahāngīr practically resigned the exercise of sovereignty into her hands, and her name appeared on coins and royal decrees. 'Step by step', writes the historian of Jahāngīr's reign, 'she became, except in name, undisputed sovereign of the empire, and the king himself a tool in her hands. He used to say that Nūr Jahān had been selected, and was wise enough to conduct the affairs of state, and that he wanted only a bottle of wine and a piece of meat to keep him merry.'

To his wife's astuteness and ready wit Jahāngīr owed his deliverance from one of the most dangerous situations of his life. His commander-in-chief, Mahābat Khān, anxious for his own safety which was threatened by a court intrigue, seized the person of the emperor and carried him off to his own camp. But he had neglected to secure the person of Nūr Jahān at the same time, and with great energy she stirred up the nobles and the imperial guard to the rescue of her husband; but these troops while crossing a river were thrown into confusion and scattered by the Rajput horsemen and the war elephants belonging to the army of Mahābat Khān. Nūr Jahān herself was in the midst of the fighting, and the elephant she rode was severely wounded and driven into the river. When her bold attempt had failed, she astutely accepted the situation, entered the hostile camp, and for several months shared her husband's captivity. But secretly she made every effort to undermine the influence of the rebellious general, and his suspicions were lulled by the feigned acquiescence and friendliness of the royal pair; he relaxed his vigilance, and diminished the number of the Rajput guards with whom he used to surround the palace. Nūr Jahān succeeded gradually in collecting around her the loyal troops, and Mahābat Khān had to seek safety in flight.

PLATE IX



AKBAR

INSPECTING THE BUILDING OF FATEHPUR-SIKRI

Jahāngīr died in the year following these events, in October 1627, after a reign of twenty-two years, and was buried in a garden that Nūr Jahān had made in the neighbourhood of Lahore. Nūr Jahān survived him nearly twenty years, living in retirement and dressing only in simple white ; she was buried near her husband in a domed tomb she had built for herself, but in later years the Sikhs stripped it of the white marble, and the last resting-place of this great lady is now a dismantled ruin.

The Memoirs of Jahāngīr give us an extraordinarily frank picture of this monarch, with his vices and failings. He does not conceal instances of savage outbursts of temper or deeds of brutality, and describes his drinking habits in detail. Like his father he was a keen huntsman, and once in the seventh year of his reign he went out hunting every day for two months and twenty days in succession. A record appears to have been carefully kept of the bag on each occasion, and in 1616, when Jahāngīr was forty-seven years of age, he had a detailed computation made of all the game he had killed himself since the age of twelve. The total amounted to 17,167 animals, birds, and quadrupeds, and altogether 28,532 head of game had been taken in his presence.

He was an enthusiastic lover of painting and a generous patron of artists. When he noticed a strange animal or tree his painters were instructed to make a copy of it, and he was eager to get pictures from the Europeans who visited his court. As he tells us in his Memoirs, he prided himself on his critical power: ' I am very fond of pictures, and have such discrimination in judging them, that I can tell the name of the artist, whether living or dead. If there were similar portraits finished by several artists, I could point out the painter of each. Even if one portrait were finished by several painters, I could mention the names of those who had drawn the different portions of that single picture. In fact, I could declare without fail by whom the brow and by whom the eye-lashes were drawn, or if

any one had touched up the portrait after it was drawn by the first painter.'

Jahāngīr had embittered the latter years of his father's life by his mutinous conduct. Nemesis brought the same fate upon him, when his son, Shāh Jahān, broke out into open rebellion and at the head of a powerful army waged war against the imperial troops. He gave vent to his anger against Shāh Jahān's unfilial conduct in his Annals, in the seventeenth year of his reign: 'I directed that henceforth he should be called "Wretch", and whenever the word "Wretch" occurs in these Annals, it is he who is intended. I can confidently assert that the kindness and instruction which I have bestowed upon him no king has ever yet bestowed upon a son . . . The pen cannot describe all that I have done for him, nor can I tell my own grief, or describe the anguish and weakness which oppress me in this hot climate, so injurious to my health, especially during these journeys and marchings which I am obliged to make in pursuit of him who is no longer my son.'

The reign of Shāh Jahān marks the culmination of the prosperity and magnificence of the Mughal dynasty in India. For thirty years (1628-58) he ruled in undiminished splendour over the great empire that the prowess of his ancestors had won. Following up the policy of Akbar, he aimed at the subjugation of the kingdoms of the Deccan (where most of his wars were carried on), until Bijapur and Golkonda had to acknowledge his suzerainty and Ahmadnagar was absorbed in the Mughal empire. His attempts to establish his power in the north-west of his ancestral domain and to recover Kandahar ended in failure, but these unsuccessful campaigns, though implying a serious drain on the imperial revenue, little affected the prestige of the emperor in India itself, where his authority was not seriously challenged.

Shāh Jahān was thus free to indulge his magnificent tastes in architecture and costly jewel-work. He moved his capital

PLATE X



ABUL FAZL



DARĀ SHIKOH
BY ANŪPCHATAR



AKBAR

city of Delhi to its present site and adorned it with splendid buildings; the Jum'ā Masjid, the cathedral mosque of the city, is one of the noblest and most impressive houses of prayer in the Muhammadan world. In the great fort, surrounded with its lofty wall of red sandstone, are the white marble buildings of the palace, richly gilt and decorated with inlaid work of cornelian, onyx, and other precious stones. Another of his buildings, the Pearl Mosque in the Fort at Agra, in its austere simplicity of pure white marble, is a dignified embodiment of Muslim religious feeling. A stronger appeal to a more widespread human sentiment is made by that incomparable monument of a lover's devotion, the most stately tomb ever erected to the memory of a woman, the Taj at Agra. Artists, poets, and travellers have exhausted the resources of language in their praise of this group of buildings, erected by Shāh Jahān in memory of the wife of his youth, Mumtāz Mahall, 'the elect of the palace', to whom during a married life of nearly twenty years he had been devotedly attached. She died in 1631 at the age of thirty-nine, after having borne her husband eight sons and six daughters.

In 1657 Shāh Jahān was believed to be dying. His four sons, each governor of a province, in command of abundant revenues and bodies of troops, prepared to fight one another for the throne. Dārā Shikoh, the eldest, remained in Delhi with his father, who had clearly indicated his wish that this his eldest son should succeed him, and accordingly kept him constantly near his person. The second son, Shāh Shujā', who was Governor of Bengal, proclaimed himself emperor and had coins struck in his own name, but defeated first by the army of Dārā Shikoh and then by Aurangzib, he fled (in 1660) into Arakan and was heard of no more. The youngest, Murād Bakhsh, Governor of Gujarat and the west, likewise assumed the attributes of sovereignty, and was joined by Aurangzib, who alone of the four brothers at the outset

made no claim to dispossess his father. Subsequent events showed that the choice really lay between Dārā Shikoh and Aurangzīb.

Dārā Shikoh is one of the most attractive figures of his generation. Like all the other Mughal princes, he had been trained to the profession of arms, but he had had little experience in the art of war, because his father kept him by his side at court. On the one occasion when he was sent to conduct a military operation of importance—the siege of Kandahar—he boasted that he would take it in a week, but the siege dragged on for five months, and the over-confident prince had to return to India unsuccessful. His father bestowed on him rank and privileges that elevated him to an almost royal position, in which he seems to have rashly presumed that his inheritance of the throne was assured.

Into the details of the conflict between the brothers we need not now enter. In little more than six months Aurangzīb had emerged victorious, had made his father a prisoner, and proclaimed himself emperor. In May 1658 Dārā Shikoh, defeated in the battle of Samugarh, fled with the scanty remnant of his magnificent army, followed by his untiring and relentless brother, through Delhi and Lahore, until he turned south towards Multan. Then Aurangzīb, leaving a body of cavalry to follow up the chase, returned to the east to crush the rising hopes of Shujā'. Meanwhile, Dārā Shikoh fled on down the course of the Indus with an ever diminishing number of followers, but receiving a welcome in Ahmadabad he managed to collect troops enough to wage battle near Ajmir for four days with the army of Aurangzīb (April 1659). This was his final effort; his forces were utterly routed, and without tents or baggage he struggled back to Ahmadabad, through the terrible heat of an Indian summer—the troops who fled with him being plundered and murdered, day and night, by the peasants—only to find the gates of the city closed in his face,



AKBAR

ON A RAGING ELEPHANT

as the governor had deserted to the side of Aurangzīb. Bernier, who had been taken by Dārā Shikoh at this time as his medical attendant, describes the consternation that fell upon the hapless little band. 'It was at the break of day that the governor's message was delivered, and the shrieks of the females drew tears from every eye. We were all overwhelmed with confusion and dismay, gazing in speechless horror at each other, at a loss what plan to recommend, and ignorant of the fate which perhaps awaited us from hour to hour. We observed Dārā stepping out, more dead than alive, speaking now to one, then to another ; stopping and consulting even the commonest soldier. He saw consternation depicted in every countenance, and felt assured that he should be left without a single follower ; but what was to become of him ? whither must he go ? to delay his departure was to accelerate his ruin. . . . I could not but weep when I beheld the Prince depart with a force diminished to four or five hundred horsemen.'

His plan was to cross the desert of Sind to the strong island fortress of Bhakkar on the river Indus, where the governor was still holding out in Dārā's interest, though closely invested by the troops of Aurangzīb. Finding it impossible to raise the siege with his handful of men, he resolved to make his way to Kandahar, hoping to find friends there. But dogged by misfortune, harried by the desert-dwellers, he rashly sought the protection of an Afghan chief, whose life he had twice saved and on whose gratitude he thought he might safely depend ; the hapless prince was seized by this treacherous robber and handed over, bound on the back of an elephant, to Aurangzīb's general. Just before this final disaster, the cup of his bitterness had been filled to the brim by the death of his devoted wife, Nādira Begam, who had borne with him all the perils and disasters of his flight, and now fell a victim to the fatigues of their toilsome journey. Even in the extremity of his need, the distracted prince parted with some of his most faithful

followers, who bore her body to Lahore, to be buried by the grave of Mīān Mīr, Dārā Shikoh's spiritual preceptor—apparently in accordance with her own expressed wish.

Stripped of all emblems of rank, Dārā Shikoh was tied on the back of an elephant and paraded through the streets of Delhi. The sympathy shown for him by the weeping populace led Aurangzib to recognize that his own safety depended upon his brother's death ; so the unfortunate prince was beheaded in prison and his body buried in the tomb of Humāyūn.

Manucci, who had been in Dārā Shikoh's service as an artillery man, describes him as 'a man of dignified manners, of a comely countenance, joyous and polite in conversation, ready and gracious of speech, of most extraordinary liberality, kindly and compassionate, but over-confident in his opinion of himself, considering himself competent in all things and having no need of advisers'. It was this egoistic self-complacency that largely contributed to his ruin ; his exalted position caused him to be flattered and courted, and apparently he made no effort to win adherents, nor was he sufficiently careful to avoid giving offence. Accordingly, when the trial of strength came, he proved to be no match for his astute brother, Aurangzib, who had spent all his life in the field, had won the respect and admiration of his soldiers by his courage and generalship, and had learned how to win over his associates to the support of his own cause.

Further, Dārā Shikoh's literary activities reveal to us a man absorbed in interests, religious and philosophical, such as hardly formed part of the training of a successful statesman in the troublous days of the India of the seventeenth century. Though he was only forty-three when he had to fight for his father's throne, his literary output had already been considerable, and comprised lives of the Muslim saints and expositions of Sufi doctrines, together with translations from the Upanishads and other Sanskrit works, made under his



AKBAR
HUNTING

directions by Hindu pandits. Though, as in the case of other princely authors, he may not have written all that has been published under his name, still there is little reason to doubt that the conception of these works were his own. He set himself to prove the essential harmony between the metaphysical doctrines of Hinduism and the teachings of Muhammadan Sufis; he writes throughout as a pious Muslim, and there is no justification for the accusation of infidelity that the European visitors to his father's court levelled against him; to a Frenchman or Italian of the middle of the seventeenth century, such a broad-minded tolerance was little likely to be intelligible.

It was no latitudinarian like Akbar, no pleasure-loving prince such as Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān had been, who now sat upon the throne of the Mughals. Aurangzīb, on the contrary, represents the ideal of the Muslim monarch, strict in the observance of all the precepts of the religious law, stern to himself and to others in upholding the ideals of Islam. The annalist of his reign, who knew him well and lived near his person, has described the devout habits of his master. 'Having performed his ablutions, he always spends a great part of his time in the worship of God, and says the usual prayers, first in the mosque and then at home, both in congregation and in private, with the most heartfelt devotion. He keeps the appointed fasts on Friday, prays in the cathedral mosque with the common people of the Muslim faith. During the whole month of Ramazan he keeps fast, says the prayers appointed for the month, and reads the holy Qur'ān in the company of religious and learned men, with whom he sits for that purpose during six and sometimes nine hours of the night.'

It was this same stern religious zeal, combined with his physical bravery, that produced so lasting an effect on the rough soldiery of his time, readily impressed by a sense of the mystical and admiring a religious formalism that they did not practise themselves. In the campaign against the Uzbegs in

Balkh they had seen him calmly dismount from his horse in the midst of the din of battle, at the hour of evening prayer, and recite the accustomed prayers, undisturbed by the dangers that threatened him. Even his antagonist, the king of the Uzbeks, was impressed by the sight, and exclaimed: 'To fight with such a man is self-destruction.'

Under a prince so rigid in his observance of Islamic law and institutions in their strictest interpretation, the arts could hardly be expected to flourish, least of all portrait painting, as having been explicitly condemned in the Traditions of the Prophet. Accordingly we find that the art of painting declined during the half century of Aurangzib's reign, and none of the works that have come down to us exhibit the same refinement and technical skill as those of the artists who had enjoyed the patronage of the three previous monarchs. But an art that had attained so magnificent a development could not suddenly disappear, and princes and nobles still continued to extend their patronage to starveling painters, whose output was as poor as the remuneration they received.

A brief reference to the military annals of Aurangzib's reign must suffice here. In the south he had to face the rising power of the Marathas, that sturdy race which was ultimately destined to work the ruin of the Mughal dynasty, and in the first half of his reign he had to quell several insurrections. In 1681 he personally took command of the army in the Deccan, from which he never again returned to his capital city, Delhi, spending the last twenty-six years of his life in almost incessant warfare. An Italian traveller, who saw him in camp in 1695, when the emperor was seventy-seven years of age, has left a vivid picture of him as bowed with age, and leaning on a crutched staff; his simple dress of white cotton was relieved only by a silk waistband, and by some gold embroidery and emeralds in his turban; he seated himself upon a low, square throne to give audience and receive petitions; 'I marvelled',



HUMĀYŪN, AKBAR, JAHĀNGĪR,
AND SHĀH JAHĀN

PART OF A LARGE PAINTING

says the traveller, 'to see him endorse them with his own hand, without spectacles, and by his cheerful smiling countenance seem to be pleased with the employment.' He ate no meat, fasted often, spent long hours in devotion, and was ceaselessly active in the performance of his public duties. So twelve years more dragged on in marches and sieges and fruitless campaigns, until at last, when he had nearly reached the age of ninety, the tireless spirit of the emperor found rest.

With Aurangzib ends the series of Mughal emperors whose portraits are given in the present volume. A few words may be added about their court and the military organization it embodied. Portraits of the nobles and high officials of the Mughal court have come down to us in considerable numbers, particularly in one of those characteristic gatherings in the royal audience hall, known as a *darbar*. It was the practice of the Mughal emperors to show themselves every morning from a window of the palace to their subjects assembled in the space below ; large crowds collected on such occasions, as the sight of the majesty of the emperor was believed to be peculiarly auspicious. There were naturally variations in the practice from one reign to another, and according as the monarch was living in his palace or in camp, but each one had to show himself every day to his subjects, for fear of political disturbance ; as every institution in the empire depended for its continuance on his autocratic will, there was even danger of confusion whenever the emperor fell ill. According to Abul Fazl, Akbar generally gave audience twice in the course of twenty-four hours, when people of all classes could 'satisfy their eyes and hearts with the light of his countenance. First, after performing his morning devotions, he is visible, from outside the awning, to people of all ranks, whether they be given to worldly pursuits, or to a life of solitary contemplation, without any molestation from the mace-bearers. The second time of his being visible is in the State Hall, whither he

generally goes after the first watch of the day. But this assembly is sometimes announced towards the close of the day, or at night. He also frequently appears at a window which opens into the State Hall, for the transaction of business. Every officer of government then presents various reports, or explains his several wants, and is instructed by His Majesty how to proceed.' Jahāngīr used to give audience three times a day. Aurangzīb showed himself to his subjects every morning at a window in the palace, but in the eleventh year of his reign he abandoned the practice, as he wished to discourage the superstitious import that the Hindus attached to the sight of his royal person before they broke their fast. Bernier, who visited the court of Aurangzīb in the palace of Delhi, describes the scene at an audience in the Dīwān-i-Āmm, which still forms part of the palace in the Fort. 'In the centre of the wall that separates the hall from the Seraglio, and higher from the floor than a man can reach, is a wide and lofty opening, or large window, where the monarch every day, about noon, sits upon his throne, with some of his sons at his right and left ; while eunuchs standing about the royal person flap away the flies with peacocks' tails, agitate the air with large fans, or wait with undivided attention and profound humility to perform the different services allotted to each. Immediately under the throne is an enclosure, surrounded by silver rails, in which are assembled the whole body of Omrahs (nobles), the Rajas, and the Ambassadors, all standing, their eyes bent downward, and their hands crossed. At a greater distance from the throne are the Mansabdārs or inferior Omrahs, also standing in the same posture of profound reverence. The remainder of the spacious room, and indeed the whole courtyard, is filled with persons of all ranks, high and low, rich and poor ; because it is in this extensive hall that the king gives audience indiscriminately to all his subjects.'

Such was the daily procedure ; on special occasions, audience



JAHĀNGIR

CROSSING A LAKE

was given under circumstances of peculiar magnificence, as that described by Bernier in 1663, when Aurangzib celebrated the successful termination of his wars with his brothers for the possession of the throne. 'The king appeared seated upon his throne, at the end of the great hall, in the most magnificent attire. His vest was of white and delicately flowered satin, with a silk and gold embroidery of the first texture. The turban, of gold cloth, had an aigrette whose base was composed of diamonds of an extraordinary size and value, besides an oriental topaz, which may be pronounced unparalleled, exhibiting a lustre like the sun. A necklace of immense pearls, suspended from his neck, reached to the stomach, in the same manner as many of the Gentiles wear their string of beads. The throne was supported by six massy feet, said to be of solid gold, sprinkled over with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. . . . At the foot of the throne were assembled all the Omrahs, in splendid apparel, upon a platform surrounded by a silver railing, and covered by a spacious canopy of brocade with deep fringes of gold. The pillars of the hall were hung with brocades of a gold ground, and flowered satin canopies were raised over the whole expanse of the extensive apartment, fastened with red silken cords, from which were suspended large tassels of silver and gold. The floor was covered entirely with carpets of the richest silk, of immense length and breadth. A tent was pitched outside, larger than the hall, to which it was joined by the top. It spread over half the court and was completely enclosed by a great balustrade, covered with plates of silver. Its supporters were pillars overlaid with silver, three of which were as thick and as high as the mast of a barque, the others smaller.'

The mansabdārs (place-holders, officials) mentioned in the above account represented the graded service of the imperial court, and according to the system introduced by Akbar, every man in the employment of the State, whatever the nature of

his duties, civil or military, was a mansabdār. They were classed in thirty-three grades, as 'commanders of ten horse' and so on, up to the 'commanders of 5,000', according to the number of men the mansabdār was supposed to provide for the imperial service. Each grade received a definite rate of pay, out of which the mansabdār was expected to defray the cost of his quota of horses, elephants, &c., but the number of men actually supplied seldom agreed with the number indicated by the rank. However, this system enhanced the autocratic power of the emperor, for the appointment, promotion, and dismissal of the mansabdārs entirely depended on his arbitrary will. During the greater part of Akbar's reign the highest rank was that of 5,000, and it was only a few years before his death that some persons were promoted to 7,000. In later days we read of higher ranks, but the relative value of rank was thereby much depreciated. Pay was sometimes given in cash, and then almost always several months in arrear, or else by the assignment (*jāgīr*) of a certain number of villages or tracts of land. On the death of the mansabdār, such grants, whether in the form of pay or fiefs, lapsed to the emperor, who was regarded as the heir of the entire property of every deceased official; but provision could be made for the children at the discretion of the sovereign, and as a matter of fact powerful nobles generally managed to make some provision for their descendants.



REPUTED PORTRAIT OF NŪR JAHĀN
WIFE OF JAHĀNGĪR

THE COURT PAINTERS OF THE GRAND MOGULS

I.

STUDENTS of Rembrandt are familiar with a group of the Master's drawings which are direct, though free, copies from Indian paintings. With his eager curiosity, his strong attraction to the unknown East, and his quickness to seize novel hints for design, Rembrandt could not fail to be delighted with these examples of a strange art which fell in his way, possibly through the Director of the Dutch East India Company, whose portrait he had painted. The drawings were made perhaps about 1640-50, one of them being a copy, as I think, from a portrait of the Emperor Jahāngīr (though hitherto described as a portrait of Akbar), and, if so, are not very much later than the originals.

Specimens of the paintings of the Mughal school may well have reached Europe earlier than this ; but I do not think that there is any earlier evidence of their importation than these copies by Rembrandt, made after drawings in an album which may have been in his own possession. At the Bodleian Library is a book of Indian drawings which belonged to Archbishop Laud ; it is inscribed by Laud with his name and the date 1640 ; but these are Hindu in style, not Mughal, and do not come within the scope of the present study. These Oxford drawings, we may surmise, came into Laud's possession as a result of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy to Jahāngīr's court in

36 COURT PAINTERS OF THE GRAND MOGULS

1615-18. Few Indian drawings can have come into England so early as this ; not many till after the seventeenth century ; and among the great numbers which were brought home from India during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are very few which do not belong to the Mughal school. The Hindu paintings, mostly produced in Rajputana and the Himalayan valleys, which represent a purely Indian tradition of art, and at their best have so singular a charm, have only lately been recognized as the work of a distinct school, and are much less common in European collections.

Of the Mughal school, on the other hand, there are very numerous and excellent examples in Europe, and especially in England.

As Dr. Martin has pointed out in his large work on Miniature Painting in Persia, India, and Turkey, the specimens brought home during the seventeenth century are not likely to have been of fine quality, for the price at which the best paintings were valued in India was then immensely high : Europeans would not think them worth so much expense, nor were the owners willing to part with them. But in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries circumstances changed, and miniatures were easily acquired.

There must be great numbers of Mughal paintings in England, preserved in families whose members have been connected with India and the East. Public collections are rich, and illustrate the whole range of the art. In the India Office is the collection of sixty-six albums and books formed by Richard Johnson, Warren Hastings' banker, and a fine album which once belonged to Prince Dārā Shikoh. The British Museum contains a great number of Mughal drawings and paintings, many of which are of the finest quality. The Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum possesses among other things an interesting series of very early drawings, and a long series of illustrations to the Akbar-Nāmāh by artists



PARVIZ

VISITING A TEACHER

of Akbar's court. A splendid collection is in the Bodleian Library.

It is from these sources that the illustrations to this volume have been principally drawn : a few are from private collections.

Though England is so rich in Indian drawings, they are hardly known to the English public. It is unfortunate that the drawings are almost all bound up in albums. These, with few exceptions, have been put together in the most indiscriminate fashion, and usually present an incongruous and discordant jumble of good and bad. The works of single artists cannot be grouped together, or even compared with any convenience, under these conditions. But the covers of the albums are often handsome, and seem to inspire a superstitious respect for what is in most cases a haphazard collocation, expressive only of its former owner's unenlightened taste.

For long it was the custom in Europe to describe Mughal drawings as 'Indo-Persian'. The custom is not yet quite extinct.

Certainly Persian influence counts for much during Akbar's reign, but during the seventeenth century, though copies continue to be made from Persian pictures, the Persian element is steadily assimilated. The typical drawing of Jahāngīr's or Shāh Jahān's time is essentially Indian in character. Even when a Samarqand painter, who is careful to add 'of Samarqand' to his signature, draws personages of Shāh Jahān's court, there is nothing distinctively Persian about his work.

The case is comparable to the Italian influence exercised on the Flemish or French artists of the sixteenth century. There is something hybrid about painters like Bernard van Orley (for example), though in Rubens all that has been derived from Italy is absorbed and subdued to native genius.

In its later phases, Mughal art borrowed more from Europe than from Persia ; but these borrowings were never really assimilated.

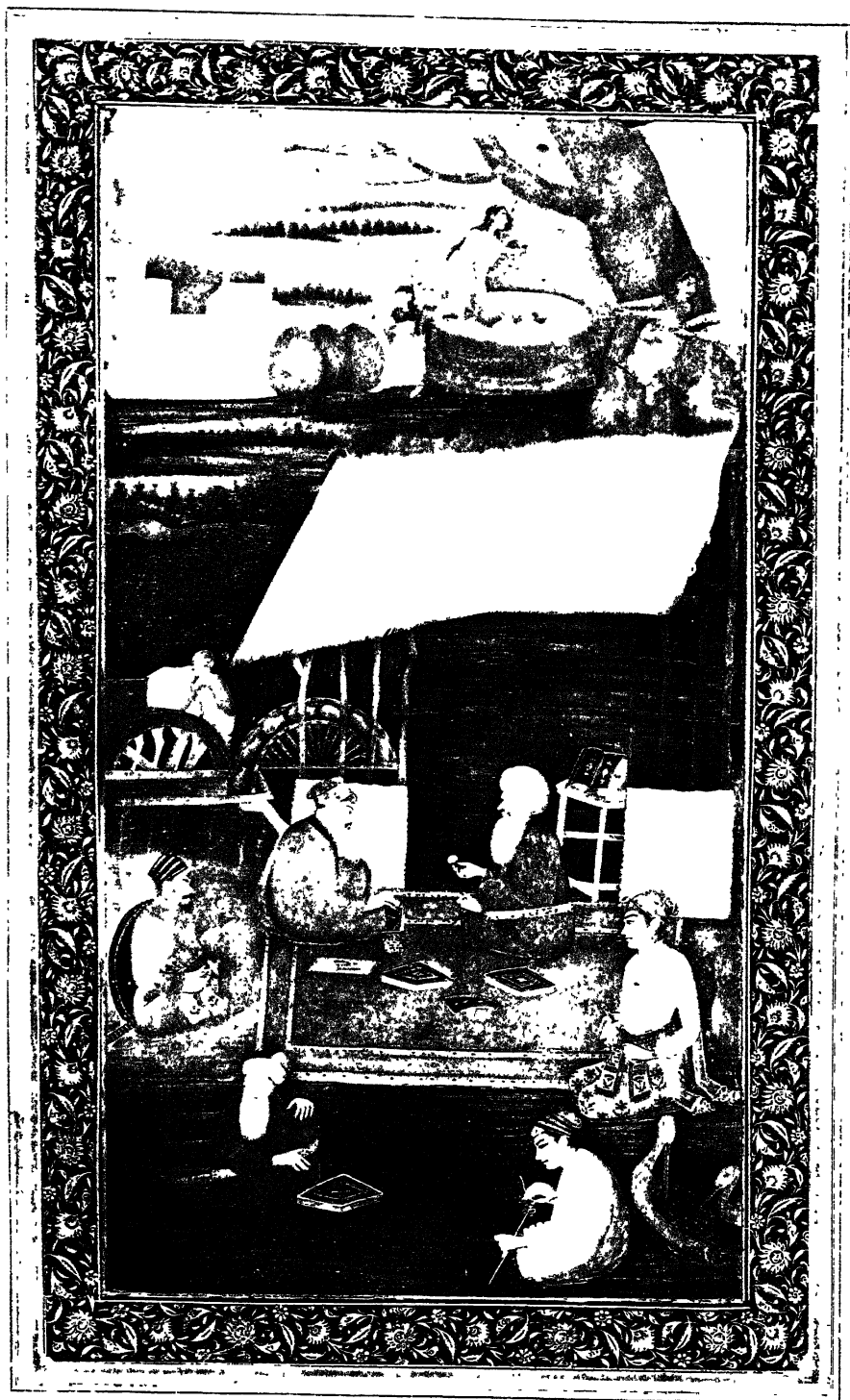
The objection to the term 'Indo-Persian' is that it encourages two fallacious views ; one, that Mughal painting is merely a continuation of Persian tradition, and not merely a continuation but a decline ; the other, that Indian painting only arose in the sixteenth century under the stimulus of the Persian influence introduced by Akbar. Very few will be found now to support this last view. The discovery of the art of Rajputana and the Himalayan valleys has shown us the Indian genius at work with no admixture of Persian style, and, great as is the gap between the frescoes of Ajantā and the earliest known Rajput paintings, it is impossible to suppose that the tradition was wholly lost.

The best of the Rajput paintings are unique in their beauty of lyrical mood and their exquisite flow of line. The Rajput painters had a quite different aim from that of the Mughal school. They seek to express the emotions of a race through line and colour in the same way that ballad-writers express them through rhythmical words, with the same reliance on traditional forms, the same love of cherished legends, and the same sort of limitations. It is an art that never becomes very complex, and always retains a strong affinity with dance and song. If the Mughal art is less interesting from the aesthetic point of view, it has a fascinating human interest of its own, and a real charm. It begins by being the art of a court, dependent on and directed by patronage, but gradually assimilates more and more to Hindu tradition.

II.

Possibly the earliest of the works we have to consider are the set of twenty-four tempera paintings on cotton, now in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum.¹

¹ These have been identified as illustrations to the story of Amīr Hamzah, which are referred to in the *A'in-i-Akbarī*, vol. i, p. 108, § 5.



SHĀH JAHĀN
VISITING A MULLĀ

These were bought in Kashmir by Sir Purdon Clarke, and Mr. Vincent Smith notes the black bears which occur in one of them as pointing to a Kashmiri origin. At any rate these paintings stand by themselves both in their style, size, and technical method. They are larger than any Mughal pictures except a few isolated examples like the 'Princes of the House of Timur' in the British Museum, which is also painted on fine cotton, and of which we shall say something later on. A glance at the example reproduced by Dr. Martin¹ (Plate 206) will prove to any one at all familiar with Persian painting how much the painter was under the influence of Bihzād. All the 'properties' of Bihzād's sumptuous style reappear; the blossoming trees, with the blossom and the leaves greatly glorified in scale, the delicate, rich patterning on rugs and hangings, and tiled pavilions. But though this influence is obvious at first sight, when we look closer we see that the artist who painted these tempera pictures had a vigorous gift of his own, and is by no means to be dismissed as a mere provincial imitator of the school of Herat. One cannot help wondering to what school he belonged and how much of similar work has perished. This set of paintings must have had companions. It is quite likely that more than one painter worked on the series. The painting reproduced by Martin, which has just been mentioned, is not a good specimen to take if we wish to illustrate the individual qualities and character of this unknown artist's style. I should rather choose one like that entitled 'The Anger of Koj on finding the Giant Zumurrud Shāh asleep', where the sleeping giant is drawn with a sense of bigness and a rough power quite unusual in the Persian schools of painting. The same vigour applied to the representation of violent action is seen in 'The Death of Qamir'. And in a picture of unidentified subject, 'Interior of a Fort', there is a group of three chained prisoners which reminds one, by its poignant

¹ *Miniature Painting and Painters in Persia, India and Turkey*. Quaritch, 1912.

reality and large design, of some Italian primitive. But the finest of the series, I think, is 'The Temptation of Erij by the Magician Ankarat'. The young man, bound hand and foot with cords, sits in the upper branches of a leafy tree; and the fear in his face, as he struggles not so much against his bonds as against the alien will of the magician whom he cannot see, is expressed with tragic power. The reds of the dresses in the two figures (there is a pale blue also in the magician's dress) are foiled by the greyish green tones of the intricate foliage. Here at least there is little to tell of dependence on the traditions of Bihzād.

These sixteenth-century paintings seem to promise for the yet unformed Mughal school a future in which the treatment of action and expression may be developed with a power altogether beyond the range of the Persian artists, if suavity and decorative harmony of colour be sacrificed to more masculine qualities. But the Mughal school, as it was actually formed under the patronage of Akbar, did not advance quite on these lines, as we shall see.

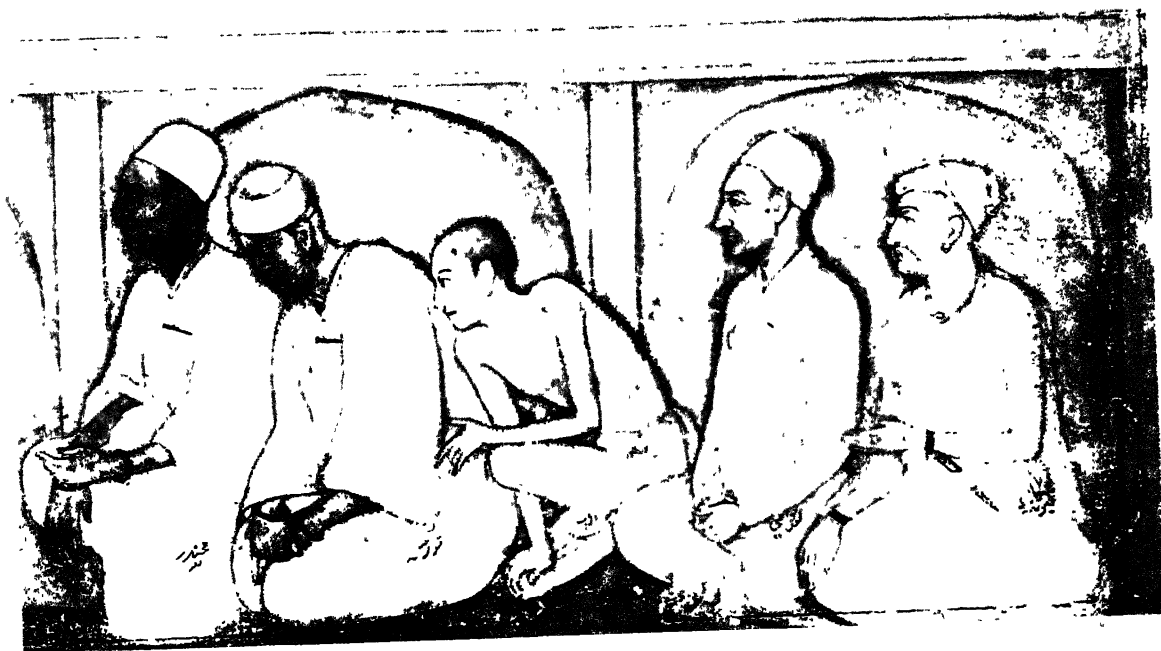
Here we may ask: How much did the Mughal school owe to Akbar? We recall the names of certain princely patrons of history—Maximilian, Lorenzo de' Medici, René of Anjou, Charles I—and reflect that court patronage of art and artists has a limiting as well as a stimulating influence. Personal vanity plays its customary part, and self-glorification—the desire to create a legend—becomes a powerful motive.

Self-glorification was certainly not the main motive in Akbar's mind when he set himself to encourage painting in defiance of strict Muhammadan orthodoxy. His actual words, reported by Abul Fazl, have been often quoted, but will bear quoting again.

'It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognizing God, for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising the limbs one after another, must



A DANCE OF DERVISHES



GROUP OF INDIAN SAINTS

DETAIL FROM THE LAST PAINTING

come to feel that he cannot bestow personality on his work, and is thus forced to thank God, the giver of life, and thus increase his knowledge.'

Now there is a strange story also told of Akbar which may give us a further clue to the workings of his mind. The incident probably happened in 1583, when Akbar was under Jain influence. One day he had commanded a *qamargha*, a special kind of hunt, in which the wild animals were driven together within an enclosure—we see such a hunt pictured in the Akbar-Nāmāh at South Kensington; it is an orgy of slaughter—and then suddenly 'a strange state and strong frenzy came on the emperor. . . . Some thought that the beasts of the forest had with a tongueless tongue revealed divine secrets to him.' In a moment the hunt was ordered to be abandoned. 'Not a feather on a finch was to be touched.'

The perception of the unity of life, of the bond between all living things, which was an abiding inspiration to the Chinese and Japanese masters of the school of Zen, had come (we may suppose) in a sudden illumination to the mind of Akbar. That he should be capable of such piercing intuitions is a proof of his genius, and it is such things that make him so profoundly interesting a character. A vivid sensibility to natural beauty was indeed part of his nature. It was in his blood, as it was in the blood of Bābur and others of his brilliant race. And it was through this intense feeling for the wonder and glory of the world, reaching out into a sentiment of religious adoration, that Akbar came to his appreciation of art. His attitude was something akin to that of Fra Filippo Lippi as described by Browning :

You've seen the world,—
The beauty and the wonder and the power,
The shapes of things, their colours, lights and shades,
Changes, surprises,—and God made it all!

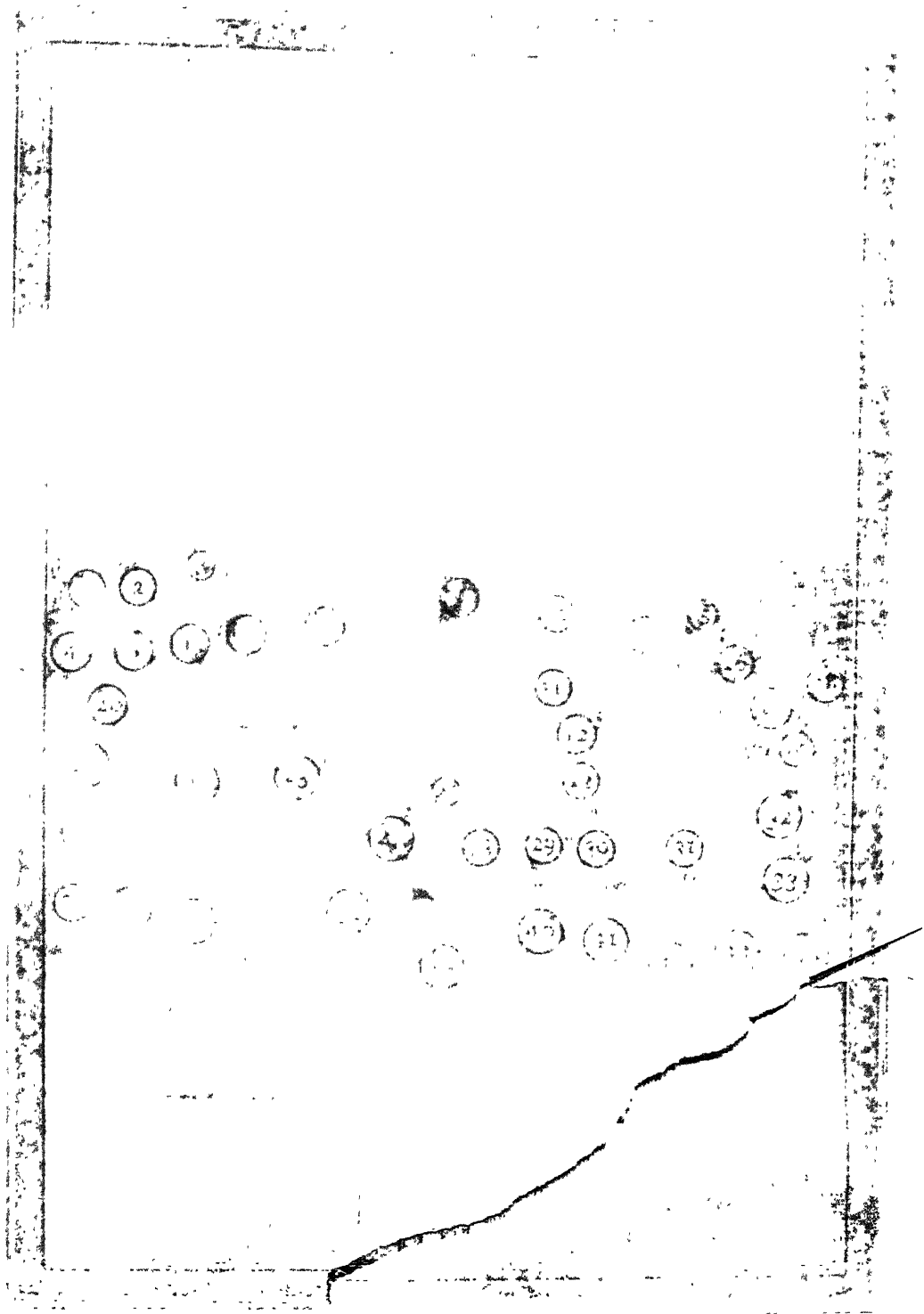
. What's it all about?
 To be passed over, despised? or dwelt upon,
 Wondered at? oh, this last, of course!—you say.
 But why not do as well as say,—paint these
 Just as they are, careless what comes of it?
 God's works—paint anyone, and count it crime
 To let a truth slip. . . .

We're made so that we love
 First when we see them painted, things we have passed
 Perhaps a hundred times nor cared to see.

Abul Fazl tells us that from his earliest youth the emperor had a great fondness for painting. 'He gives it every encouragement, as he looks upon it as a means both of study and amusement. Hence the art flourishes, and many painters have obtained great reputation. The works of all painters are weekly laid before His Majesty by the Dārōghahs and the clerks; he then confers rewards according to excellence of workmanship, or increases the monthly salaries. Much progress was made in the commodities required by painters, and the correct prices of such articles were carefully ascertained. The mixture of colours has especially been improved. The pictures thus received a hitherto unknown finish. Most excellent painters are now to be found, and masterpieces worthy of a Bihzād may be placed at the side of the wonderful works of the European painters who have attained world-wide fame. The minuteness in detail, the general finish, the boldness of execution, &c., now observed in pictures are incomparable; even inanimate objects look as if they had life. More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of the art, while the number of those who approach perfection, or of those who are middling, is very large. This is especially true of the Hindus: their pictures surpass our conception of things. Few indeed in the whole world are found equal to them.'¹

In the references to Bihzād and to European masterpieces,

¹ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann's translation), vol. i, p. 107.





DURBAR OF SHĀH JAHĀN

something of exaggeration is perceptible. Bihzād was never rivalled by any of his imitators in India. In the matter of pigments, too, and of workmanship, though the art of Akbar's time may have improved on that of the time immediately preceding it, no Mughal painting surpasses or indeed rivals the masterpieces of the Herat school. What is most interesting in this account is Abul Fazl's acknowledgement of the superiority of the Hindus 'in their conception of things'. This chapter on painting comes after a fuller account of the art of calligraphy and its contemporary masters, for Abul Fazl held the traditional Persian¹ view that writing was the more important of the two arts. In the later Persian art, beauty of line for its own sake was pursued to the supersession of interest in character and expression. The Hindu painters brought to their work a keener interest in life and humanity; above all, there was latent in them a vein of the Indian spirituality, which finds ready expression as soon as they turn to purely Indian themes.

Through Faizī, the poet and the brother of Abul Fazl, Akbar had come to take an interest in Hindu civilization and literature. He collected together a number of artists, mostly Hindu, and commissioned them to make pictures for him. These were either wall-paintings or miniatures. Of the wall-paintings most have perished. Fragments, still existing at Fathpur-Sikrī near Agra, have been published by E. W. Smith in his *Moghul Architecture of Fathpur-Sikri*. These may well be by Persian artists. According to Mr. Vincent Smith they were executed 'about 1570 or a little later'.

Of the Persian artists employed by Akbar, Khwāja Abdus

¹ Not only Persian, but Muhammadan. Calligraphy is honoured, because it occupies itself with copying the Word of God. It must be added, however, that the Chinese pay equal honour to calligraphy, and count painting as a branch of writing; but they give no such pious reason for their practice. They write with a brush, which demands a painter's skill.

Samad is well known. He was a native of Shiraz and had been a friend of the Emperor Humāyūn. In a copy of the *Dārāb-Nāmāh* in the British Museum (Or. 4615) is a painting by Abdus Samad copied from a painting by Bihzād. It is reproduced by Vincent Smith, on p. 453 of his *History of the Fine Arts in India*. In the same manuscript are paintings by Hindu artists. Abdus Samad, we know, was the teacher of one of these, Daswanth. It was in this way that the Hindu artists learnt the Persian style, or rather styles; for Persian painting contains two strains, one which we may call 'Western', the other 'Eastern'. By Eastern I mean the strain which is allied to, and more or less derived from, Chinese art, and shows itself in a mastery of fluid lines independent of the charm of colour; by Western I mean the more truly Persian character which perhaps derives partly from late classic art and which is shown in rich pattern and solid colour rather than in line and movement. Persian miniature-painting at its best presents us with a type of art which is perfect and complete of its kind. It is contented to remain within chosen limits, and to use traditional elements of design. It is not strained either in emphasis of representation or of expression, but keeps a graceful equilibrium. The Persian masters allow no shadows in their clean and dazzlingly coloured world. A luxurious choiceness pervades their art.

When we turn from the beautiful pages of Bihzād and his school to those painted by the artists of Akbar's court, we are conscious of a strong general likeness, and also of a subtle difference. In what does this difference consist?

We become aware that the Hindu artists have a less exquisite feeling for sensuous beauty in line and colour and in the texture of material things. On the other hand, there is more intensity in their work. They adopt the Persian conventions and the Persian accessories; yet we are conscious of an instinct which aims at something more. There is of course nothing of the intellectual ardour which drove the Florentines to grasp the



DURBAR OF SHĀH JAHĀN

world so firmly and delineate men and objects in the round, though there is more emphasis on the third dimension than with the Persians. There is no sign of a development of the art of representation by mastery of perspective, whether linear or aerial, or by setting human figures in a real relation to landscape surroundings. The Hindus are not, as a rule, happier than the Persians in representing violent action or emotion, and the something excessive that inheres in the Indian genius tends to a crowding and confusion in complex figure-designs. The Persian suavity and elegance are diminished. But in one point the Hindus surpass the Persian masters. They have a much livelier interest in human character. Already they excel in portraiture; and portraiture was to be the distinctive excellence of the Mughal school.

Among the illustrations to the Akbar-Nāmah exhibited in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum there is one (No. 96) which attracts attention at once by its different aspect. It is simpler, more spacious, more reposeful than its companions; that is apparent at a glance; and, looking closer, one sees how entirely of the Persian school it is in its feeling, its atmosphere. It is in fact by Farrukh Beg, an artist of Calmuck origin.

Next to it hangs a drawing by the same artist, but made in collaboration with a Hindu, one of the best known and most reputed of the Hindu masters of Akbar's court, Basāwan. Here we have the crowded animation which from the time of the Ajanta frescoes has been so frequent a characteristic of Indian painting, together with the lively sense of individual character, but far less sense of decoration. Basāwan was a rival of Daswanth, who has already been mentioned, and is said to have excelled in the painting of backgrounds, the drawing of features, the distribution of colours, and portraiture. Daswanth was even more famous. Abul Fazl tells us that he was the son of a palkee-bearer, and from

his boyhood had a passion for painting: he drew figures on walls, for a blank space was irresistible to him. His gift was noticed by Akbar, and he was made a pupil of the Khwāja Abdus Samad, as we have seen. His work was immensely esteemed; but, apparently in the height of his career, he became insane and killed himself.

Other painters whose names are given in the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* are Kēsū, Lāl, Mukund, Mushkīn, Madhū, Jagan, Mohesh, Khēmkanan, Tārā, Sānwlah, Harībaṇs, and Rām. Many other names might be given. But in this art the individual counts for little. Though the paintings of Akbar's and of later times are often signed, it is difficult to distinguish between the work of the various masters of the Mughal school. Few seem to have developed a personal style by which they are easily recognizable, as is the case with European masters. Rather, there are certain traditional styles which the painters adopt in turn. One hesitates, therefore, to attribute anonymous drawings to a particular artist, though it may become more feasible in time when the mass of drawings in the chief collections has been more thoroughly collated. The keeping of the drawings in albums, ungrouped and disarranged, aggravates the difficulty of comparison.

Bhagvatī, a painter of the sixteenth century, is the author of the portrait of Humāyūn in MSS. Add. 18801, which we reproduce. Humāyūn is seated on a square of carpet, his hands devoutly joined and head bowed, while two dervishes invoke God's blessing on him. In the background two young trees, one in blossom, and a flight of birds make a pattern on empty sky. Here the Eastern style, as I have called it, which came to Bokhara from China, is predominant. In Plate VII, a painting by Sānwlah of polo-players, almost entirely in outline, the Chinese influence is also present but less apparent. The group of musicians in the upper part of the design seems to me quite Indian.



DĀRĀ SHIKOH
WITH LĀL SĀHIR FAQĪR IN A GARDEN

In a page from another manuscript in the British Museum (Plate VIII), where we see builders making a wall between two crags to keep out Gog and Magog, at the command of Alexander the Great, there is no Chinese element to be detected. The rocks are reminiscent of Persian convention, but in the figures the Indian feeling and the Indian manner seem to be gaining on and absorbing the Persian.

I do not know if the beautiful drawing of Umar Shaikh, the father of Bābur, on a hunting expedition (Plate III) be of the time of Akbar, but it is quite possible. A photograph cannot do justice to the singular delicacy of this drawing, with its reticent colour. Indian and Persian tradition are here felicitously blended.

Isolated and independent drawings of this period are rare ; for almost all the paintings of Akbar's time, now surviving, are to be found in manuscripts. Among the finest and most famous of these manuscripts are these :

The Razm-Nāmāh at Jaipur ; this is said to have cost a sum equivalent to £40,000. Enlargements from some of the pages, coloured by native artists, were prepared by the late Col. Hendley and are now in the sub-department of Oriental Prints and Drawings in the British Museum. They are on a very large scale.

The Nizāmī in the collection of Mr. Dyson Perrins, pages from which have been reproduced by Dr. Martin.

The Bābur-Nāmāh in the British Museum, of which we will say something shortly.

The Akbar-Nāmāh in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The last of these has been broken up, and the paintings separately mounted and exhibited. It is therefore easy of access and study to every one, and we will refer to it in more detail. What we have to say about it is applicable to the pages of the other manuscripts on which the same groups of painters worked.

How ambitious, how adventurous, are these painters ! There is no scene or subject too complex for them to attempt. With no science of perspective, without the help of shadows to project salient forms and to subdue subordinate masses, they grapple with problems which would tax the giant powers and immense learning of a Rubens. There is one scene for which the artist (again it is Basāwan, but here he is responsible for the outline drawing) has required a double page. Akbar's elephant, seized with a sudden rage, breaks up the bridge of boats by which he is crossing a river : there is consternation and commotion among the retinue and men-at-arms on the banks. The elephants, as usual, are drawn with knowledge and power, but the painter's effort to represent the smashing of the trampled timber and the buckling-up of the boats beneath, forced by the current from beneath against the planking of the bridge, is almost absurdly inadequate. It is remarkable how feeble is these artists' convention for running water, compared with the convention of the Chinese painters. But, indeed, in the sense for elemental things—the swift and sinuous movement of water, the leap and rush of flames, the weight and inert mass of rocks and stones—they are immeasurably below the Chinese and Japanese masters. We see the same inferiority in their lack of the pictorial instinct which chooses and emphasizes motives for design in a given scene : the red sails of the boats on the Indus, for example, which occur in more than one of these pages of Akbar's history.

And yet, considered simply as illustrations, how fascinating are these scenes ; more valuable, indeed, in a documentary sense for their ingenuous portraiture, unsophisticated by the suppressions and sacrifices which a truer pictorial genius would have found necessary. We see the building of the red sandstone fort at Agra ; or, in other animated pages, the masons and master-builders busy in raising the walls and towers of Fathpur-Sikrī, the 'City of Victory' which the



READING THE QUR'ĀN

emperor built in pride and then so strangely abandoned and left solitary to the bats and the jackals. We follow Akbar to the chase, now of deer, now of tigers; we witness his marvellous feats as a huntsman. Now rejoicing at the news of the birth of one of those sons who were to be the sorrow of his old age; now inspecting a captured elephant; now superintending the siege of a fortress (bullocks dragging siege-guns up a steep hill make one of the most striking designs of the series); now receiving the keys of a surrendered city, or the submission of a group of prisoners, dressed up, by a freak of their captors, in the skins of animals; now praying on the Indus banks; Akbar leads his active, various life before our eyes. Perhaps the scene which touches imagination most is that where the great emperor, the master of Hindustan, is found by his anxious followers lost and asleep under a rock, leaning on his matchlock.

Most of the same artists were employed on the magnificent manuscript (Or. 3714) of the *Memoirs of Bābur* in the British Museum.

In general design, colouring, and treatment of the landscape background these paintings are very Persian. One of them, with rather more Hindu feeling than most, by Tiriyyā, is reproduced by Vincent Smith. By exception a purely Hindu subject such as a 'Visit to Faqirs' inspires a more Indian treatment: but for the most part the artists strive to emulate the gorgeous pages of the school of Herat. One beautiful page shows us Bābur superintending his gardeners: but, delightful as it is, the painting has not the intimacy and freshness of the similar subject treated on a double page in another manuscript, a few paintings from which are exhibited in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum. One of these, 'Bābur receiving a Deputation in a Garden at Agra', is an exquisite thing. These paintings at South Kensington are in the smaller, delicate style, relying more on outline, which is found

in some of the paintings in a manuscript of the *Dārāb-Nāmah* (a book of stories from the *Shāh-Nāmah*) in the British Museum (Or. 4615), already mentioned.

The fact that Bābur passed far less of his life in India than did Akbar, accounts for the more Persian aspect of the pages in the *Bābur-Nāmah*. The most Indian in character of the paintings in the British Museum manuscript occur towards the end of the book ; and a series of paintings of the animals, trees, and birds of India described by Bābur is of particular interest. Of these we will say something later. But we must now pass on to consider the next phase of the Mughal school, and the splendid period of portraiture in the reigns of Jahāngīr and the magnificent Shāh Jahān.

III.

Jahāngīr's attitude to art had nothing of the semi-religious tinge of Akbar's feeling. He was of the type of rich collector perennial through the ages ; pleased above all with fine workmanship, voluptuously appreciative of it, and having the sense of possession exquisite in the finger-tips. He would give enormous prices.

We get illuminating glimpses of Jahāngīr as a patron and critic of art in the pages of our own ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe. A vein of childish vanity and caprice, sometimes found in men of mediocre intellect placed in positions of immense power, is obvious in Akbar's unworthy son.

But let us hear Sir Thomas, an honest man of excellent parts and shrewd judgement, who knew how to deal with men.

'The sixth of August, I was sent for to the Durbar ; the business was about a picture I had lately given to the king, and was confident that no man in India could equal it. So soon as I came, he asked me what I would give the painter that had made a copy so like it, that I should not know my



own : I answered, a painter's reward, fifty rupees. The king replied, his painter was a cavalier and that too small a gift.'

After some word-fencing and questioning by Jahāngīr, Roe was bidden to come again to see the pictures.

'At night he sent for me, being hasty to triumph in his workman, and showed me six pictures, five made by his man, all pasted on one table so like, that I was by candlelight troubled to discern which was which, I confess, beyond all expectation ; yet I showed mine own, and the differences, which were in art apparent, but not to be judged by a common eye. But for that at first sight I knew it not, he was very merry and joyful, and craked like a northern man : I gave him way and content, praising his man's art.'

The wrangle over the painter's fee or reward was resumed ; and when that was settled Sir Thomas produced a portrait of Jahāngīr which he had bought. It was 'far inferior to the work I now saw'.

'He asked me where I had it ; I told him. Why, said he, do you buy any such things ? have I not the best ? and have I not told you, I would give you whatsoever you desired ?'

A little later the emperor sent for the ambassador, late at night, asking him to bring a picture which he had not shown before ; Jahāngīr wished to have it as a gift, or, if he could not get it, to have copies taken for his wives. Roe took two pictures, one an English miniature (presumably by Hilliard, Oliver, or one of that school) and the other an oil painting by a French artist. Jahāngīr did not like this last, because it was in oils ; but coveted the other. Sir Thomas was very loath to part with this, because it was the portrait of a dead friend, but at last he sacrificed his feelings and offered it as a gift. The emperor would not take so cherished a possession, but asked leave to take copies of it. 'In that art of limning his painters work miracles.'

What kind of encouragement Jahāngīr gave to art may be

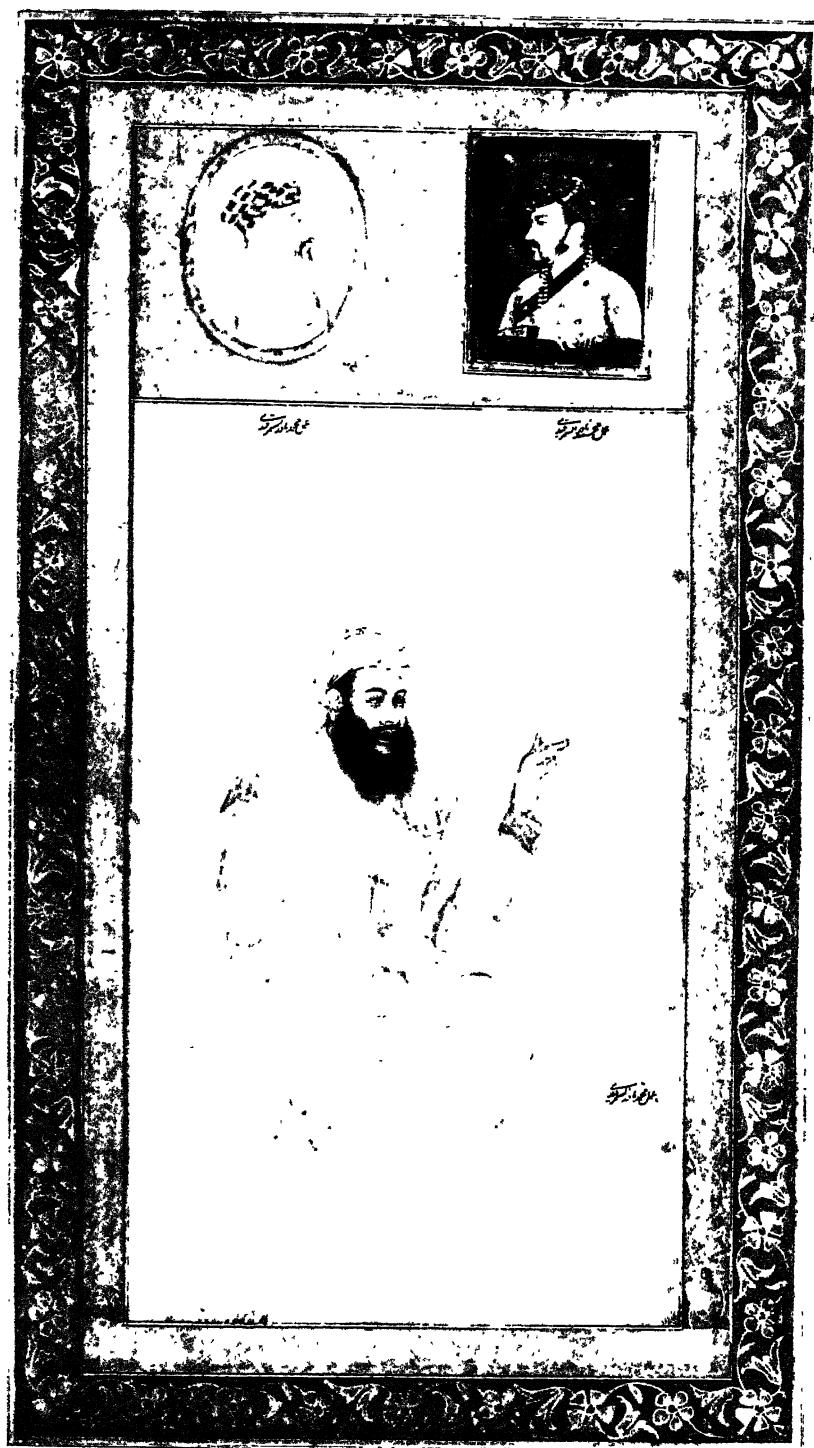
divined from these passages. He rejoiced in painting as an exercise of skill ; he took great pride in the extreme accomplishment of his painters. But something barbarian and childish at bottom is recognizable, though no doubt Jahāngīr was an excellent connoisseur in his way, and had a good eye. Portraiture was encouraged, but painting in a larger sense had little scope.

An interesting sidelight on Jahāngīr's love of portraiture is to be found in a passage which Professor Arnold has pointed out to me, from a Persian biographical dictionary. It comes in an account of 'Abdullāh Khān's disastrous expedition to the Deccan in 1611. 'They say that Jahāngīr had portraits taken of 'Abdullāh Khān and the other officers, and that he took them into his hand, one by one, and made comments on them. Referring to 'Abdullāh's portrait, he said: "To-day no one equals you for ability and lineage. With such a figure, and such abilities, and lineage and rank, and treasure and army, you should not have run away."'

Under Shāh Jahān painting continued to have the same character as under Jahāngīr. Many artists worked during both reigns ; and to distinguish between these periods is probably not feasible.

In the British Museum is a small manuscript of Hāfiz's poems with beautiful miniatures, in which Jahāngīr's person is substituted, according to a common convention, for that of the principal figure. Naturally, these paintings are in the Persian tradition.

Mughal art, however, was becoming much less dependent on manuscripts than in Akbar's time. It was emancipating itself gradually from Persian influence ; and the older Persian custom of painting miniatures for fine manuscripts was giving way to the custom of making small independent pictures on paper, which were afterwards mounted on thicker paper. The same practice was beginning to grow up in Persia at the same



SHĪR MUḤAMMAD

WITH HEADS OF JAHĀNGĪR AND SHĀH JAHĀN ABOVE

BY MUḤAMMAD NĀDIR

time, and possibly was imitated at the Mughal court ; but it had always been an Indian practice.

The fine drawing, left uncoloured, which we reproduce (Plate XI), shows the Indian style already fully formed, with very little of Persian convention remaining. The ease and vigour with which movement and gesture are represented are remarkable. The drawing seems to represent an incident in the life of Akbar, quoted by Professor Arnold in his note, pp. 70-71. But in style it certainly belongs to the time of Jahāngīr, and some may think that it represents Jahāngīr himself, rather than his father.

The painting reproduced on Plate XIV, though much inferior to this, is interesting for its subject and composition. Here Jahāngīr, crossing a lake on a hunting expedition with his retinue, appears to be in the prime of life.

In another painting in the British Museum, reproduced, Plate I, he is seated drinking under a canopy in a landscape, attended by his cupbearer and five other persons in richly coloured attire. This is a sumptuous page.

In the page reproduced on Plate XV, above the principal subject, are two small heads in profile of Jahāngīr and of Shāh Jahān. And in an unfinished drawing of a Durbar by Manohar in the Johnson collection (vol. v, No. 2) Jahāngīr is seen embracing his son on a balcony in the presence of the courtiers assembled below.

We have reproduced in this volume several of the paintings or drawings of Durbars, which were favourite subjects, naturally, of these court painters.

Roe and Bernier describe these Durbars and what happened at them ; and these drawings are interesting illustrations of those travellers' pages. The emperor sat conspicuous on a balcony raised above the throng of courtiers below. These stood upon a platform surrounded by a silver railing, canopied with gold-fringed brocade. Carpets of the costliest texture

were spread upon the floor, the arcades were hung with brocades; the courtiers themselves were in splendid apparel.

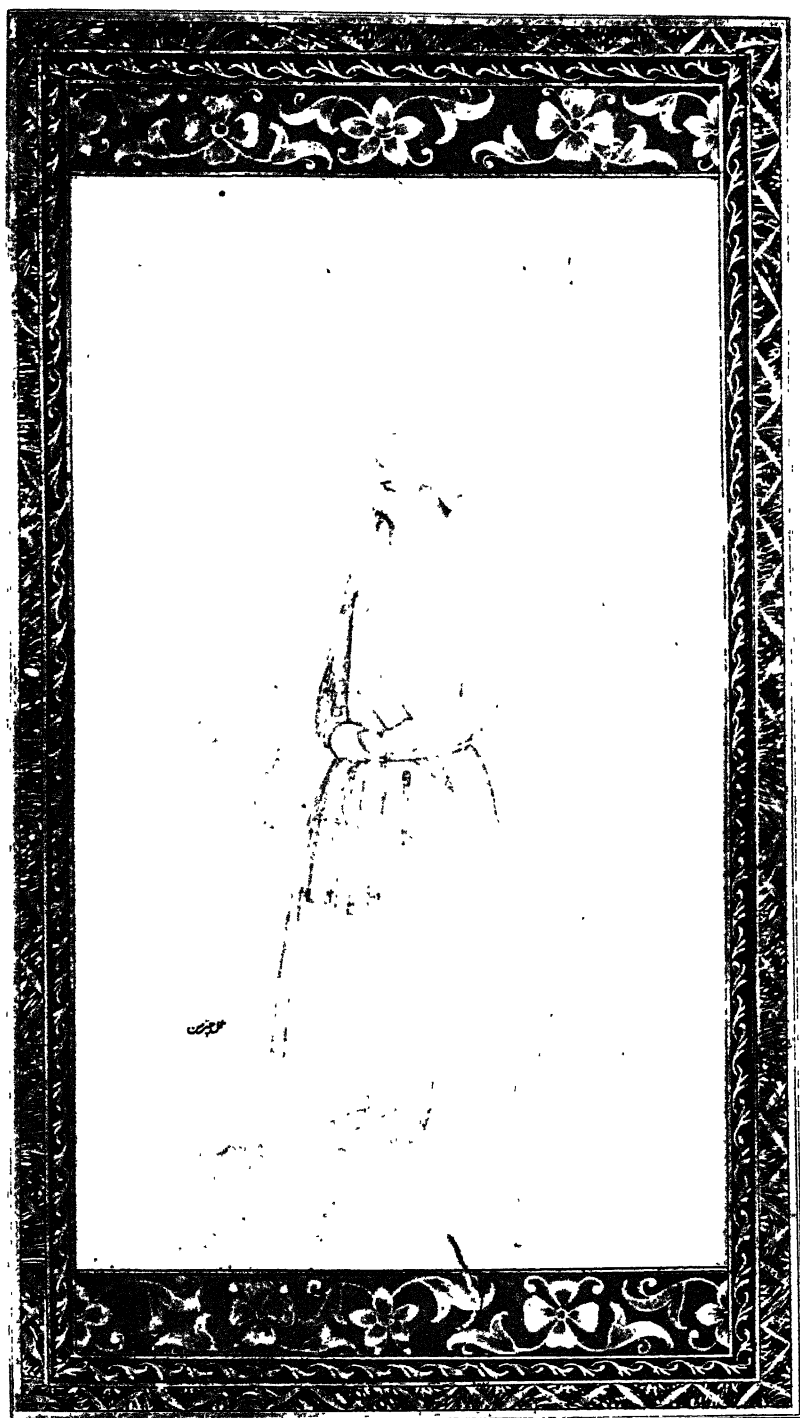
The actual disposition of the ceremony simplified the problem of composition for the artist. He had not the difficulty of arranging groups of figures, all more or less on one level, so that the principal figures should stand out in due prominence without too obvious artifice. The Mughal painters usually accept the symmetrical scheme which the conditions offer; and wisely; for we feel that the devices a European artist would introduce, to give variety and incident to his composition, would be out of place. The scene is ceremonial, and a certain symmetry and stiffness are congruous with the subject.

The *Durbar of Shāh Jahān*, in the Bodleian (Plate XXI), loses of course without its brilliant colour and lavish gold; but it gives an impression of great splendour; and the pages standing on elephants and fanning the emperor with peacock fans add just that touch of superb luxury which we associate with the 'Grand Mogul'. The row of courtiers in the foreground are all arranged so as to show their profile.

The same insistence on the profile pervades the whole of the *Durbar of Shāh Jahān* in the British Museum (Plate XX). This unfinished drawing is full of admirable portraits, and one cannot wish it completed in colour, so delightful is the fine ink-line.

The *Durbar of Aurangzīb* which we reproduce (Plate XXXVI) is less dependent on symmetry in its design. The emperor is not placed in the centre of the composition. The tall pillars give a strength to the design, unusual in Mughal art. This painting probably represents the emperor receiving the Persian embassy in 1661. Aurangzīb was then forty-three. Accounts of this embassy particularly mention the horses sent as presents to Delhi, and these are shown in the foreground.

Women played so great a part in the life of Shāh Jahān, as of Jahāngīr, that we have a natural curiosity to know the



'ALĀ AL-MULK TŪNĪ

BY CHITARMAN

res of some of these famous ladies; of her whose peerless
 ument is the wonder of Agra, and of the great queen who
 l the mind and heart of Jahāngīr, Nūr Jahān. But it is
 tful if any of the portraits to which such great names
 attached were really drawn from the ladies themselves.
 ammadan feeling would probably have disapproved of the
 oduction of the features of these exalted persons, and
 eir portraits being passed from hand to hand. Plate
 reproduces a small portrait which is said to be that of
 Jahān, but we give it rather as a specimen of female
 aiture than as a probable likeness of the queen.

enes from zenana life are not uncommon in the Mughal
 ol, but these are rare in the best period, and seem mostly
 along to the eighteenth century or the latter part of the
 teenth. They are often charming, though they have
 quite the spontaneous grace and lyrical sweetness of the
 ings of Rajputana.

ne as the Durbar paintings are in their own way, how
 r would we exchange all this portraiture of parade for
 seizure of expressive attitude and gesture by which a great
 r will give to us all the inner nature of a man!

here in all history is there a line of rulers that hold and
 e our imagination more than the Mughals from Bābur to
 ngzib? Our own early Norman and Plantagenet kings
 1 them nearest. They show something of the same
 austible range of human nature, with all its passions in
 lay, allied to transcendent ability; and the Mughals were
 l in a similar relation to their Indian subjects as were the
 ans and Angevins to the English. The rebellion of
 Jahān's four sons against their father, and their strife
 g themselves, are closely paralleled by the story of Henry II
 is sons. The whole history of Bābur and his successors
 owed with marvellous episodes, with adventures, with
 lies and the tearing of hearts, with the extremes of

tenderness and of cruel hate. Nothing could be richer in drama. But of dramatic instinct these artists show not a trace.

Of more intimate portraiture, the small pencil head of Akbar which we reproduce (Plate X) is an unusual example. This surely was done from the life.

Holbein's name is often invoked where oriental portraits are concerned, because Holbein prefers a flat modelling of the face. But it is in the design of his portraits, in the spacing and the relation of the figure to the frame, no less than in his delicately searching presentation of man or woman, that Holbein's mastery is asserted. In these respects no Mughal painting can compare. And yet in sheer portraiture of a simple kind how high these Indian masters must rank !

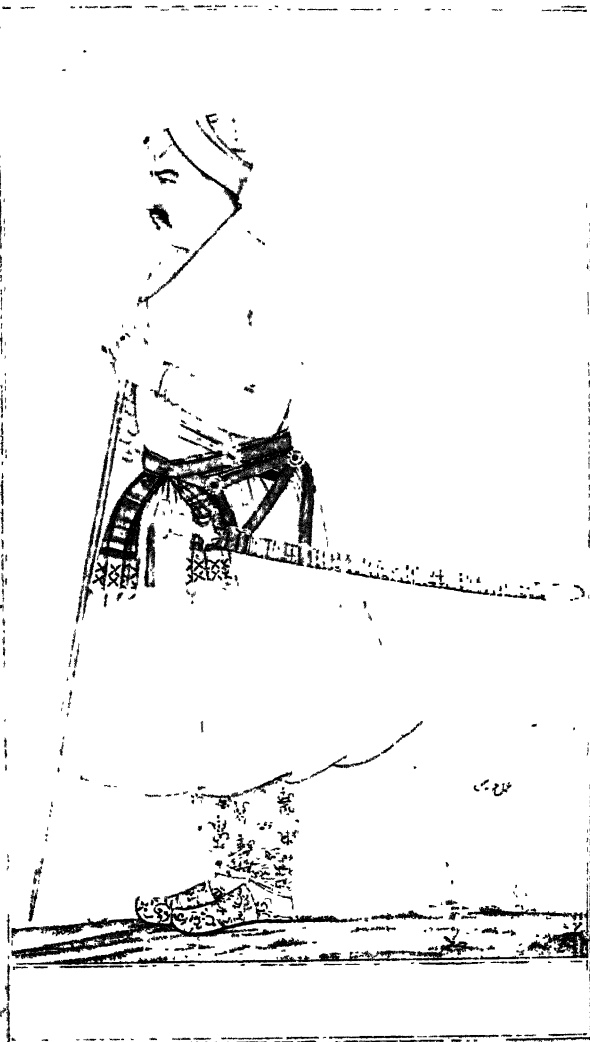
One of the most striking of Mughal paintings is the Dying Man at Oxford (Plate XXIV). One would like to know the story of this little picture ; whom it represents, and why he chose to be painted in this manner. A drawing for it, now at Boston, is perhaps even finer in its intensity of conception and delineation : it is reproduced by Dr. Martin (Plate 200).

Under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān single portraits become more and more numerous.

Among all this mass of portraiture it is difficult to single out any culminating masterpieces. Each one delights us by its delicacy and decorative quality ; very many of them add to this an animated intensity of life and a sure seizure of character. But few stand out above the rest.

Any one who wishes to have a comprehensive glimpse of Mughal portraiture should look through that wonderful album in the British Museum, MSS. Add. 18801. He cannot fail to share the admiration which Sir Joshua Reynolds is recorded to have expressed on the summer day in 1777 when it was shown to him.

The artists represented in this album are Hūnhār ; Chitarman ; Anūpcharar ; Muhammad Nādir of Samarqand ; Mīr



ŞADIQ KHÂN

FATHER OF JA'FAR KHÂN

By GOVARDHAN

Muhammad Hāshim ; Govardhan ; and Baghvati. Of Hūnhār there are seven examples, and of Muhammad Nādir eleven. A number of the drawings are anonymous, and may be by some of these same artists, or by others. The portraits vary from a delicate outline to a painting of rich colour and exquisite finish. In some cases only a head is drawn ; one of them is a portrait of Aurangzīb as a young man : it is full of character.

The seated figure of Shīr Muhammad by Muhammad Nādir of Samarqand arrests the eye at once by the fact that it is in a three-quarter pose. This is one of the portraits specially admired by Reynolds, and its vivacity and delicacy are worthy of all praise. But how rare it is for these painters to desert the profile ! Their formula is simple, but at any rate there is no encumbering of the portrait with irrelevant or tiresome accessories. Sometimes a few flowers are painted at the foot of the person portrayed, and he stands on a green lawn which melts away into a skiey distance of empty blue, with perhaps some coloured clouds floating above. Or it may be there is a suggestion of a garden terrace. But during the seventeenth century the commoner mode was to leave the figure by itself against an empty space. For delicate expressiveness one could hardly choose a finer example than the portrait of 'Alā al-Mulk Tūnī by Chitarman (Plate XXVI). An equally fine drawing by the same master is in the Johnson collection (vol. i, No. 11) in the Library of the India Office. Slightly more robust and full of incisive character is the portrait of the father of Ja'far Khān by Govardhan. These are drawings with just a touch of colour. Hūnhār's portrait of Mīrzā Abul Hasan, on the other hand, is a marvel of delicious colour. The champagne-coloured dress, the purple and white striped trousers, are foiled by a background of pale greenish-blue. There are many known drawings by this artist. Several are in this same album, as we have seen. Quite of a different order is the group of Ascetics in Professor Rothenstein's collection (Plate XXVII).

Here we feel a deeper sympathy engaged : for this is a subject which is truly Indian, and, as we find in other cases, the Indian artists, when they have an Indian theme to work on, revert to native tradition. Plate XXX gives some notion of the kind of colour-effect which these artists preferred.

To inspect a large collection of these portraits is to get tired of the monotonous attitudes. The great majority present whole-length figures standing in profile, either with the hands crossed on the stomach or with one hand on the sword-hilt—as ready to obey the emperor's command. It is refreshing to come upon such an example as the seated portraits of the two Mullahs in disputation (Plate XXXIII). And how admirably are these two greybeards characterized !

The portraits we have been considering are portraits drawn from the life. But there is a whole group of portraits which are of personages who are dead. These are either copies from earlier portraits or ideal representations. It is especially of the great Timurid princes that this is the case. From Tīmūr down, the features of the more eminent of these rulers were made familiar through numerous drawings. Tīmūr himself is often depicted. Dr. Martin, in his *Miniature Painting in Persia* (vol. i, p. 29), has reproduced a portrait of Tīmūr which he dates *circa* 1380, that is during Tīmūr's lifetime. Later portraits preserve the type ; but by the seventeenth century the features of this devastating conqueror have become smoothed often almost into insipidity.

In the Johnson collection (vol. i) is a curious painting of Tīmūr and his court contemplating his famous captive, the rival Turkish conqueror popularly known in Europe as Bajazet. In the centre of a paved court a tall slim pillar of metal, painted scarlet, supports an iron cage, in which the captive Sultan miserably crouches, unable to stand or to sit. All around are the courtiers looking up at him : and among them Tīmūr himself looks on from a terrace at the farther end of the



GROUP OF ASCETICS

BY HINDU

courtyard. This page illustrates a story which is generally discredited.

Timūr is also represented in a group with some of his descendants. Dr. Martin reproduces (Plate 214) a painting of Timūr with Bābur and Humāyūn: they are seated under canopies on a rich carpet in a landscape. This is in a Parisian collection. In one of the Johnson albums (vol. lxiv) there is a group of Timūr, Bābur, Humāyūn, Akbar, and Jahāngīr in a landscape with stream and hills. Another group of 'Ancestors' is in the Douce collection at Oxford (Or. a. 3). Others are in the British Museum.

But the most remarkable of these groups is the large painting on fine cotton acquired in 1913 for the sub-department of Oriental Prints and Drawings in the British Museum. It is of very unusual size, about forty-five by forty-two inches, though its style is that of a Persian miniature, merely enlarged in scale. It has unfortunately been mutilated. Here in a hexagonal pavilion Akbar is seated opposite to his father Humāyūn. By Akbar's side is Jahāngīr, and beside Jahāngīr his son Shāh Jahān. Outside the pavilion, at the left, is Parvīz, Shāh Jahān's elder brother. In a corresponding position on the other side is the figure of a young man in profile which has either been effaced or never painted in. Right and left of the pavilion, in the foreground, are seated in a semicircle princes of the House of Timūr, from Humāyūn and his brother to the son of Timūr, though Timūr himself does not appear. Some of these portraits are of the most expressive and delicately fine workmanship; they show a master's hand. But the picture presents some rather puzzling problems. It is so Persian in style that one would at first sight assign it to the time of Akbar. But the presence of Shāh Jahān and Parvīz as young men makes it certain that if they were in it from the first, the picture could not have been painted till the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century. I have

suggested elsewhere (*Burlington Magazine*, August 1919) that it may have been painted soon after Shāh Jahān's accession in 1628. There is, however, the possibility that these figures, and Jahāngīr's also, may have been painted in at a later time. In that case we should put the date back into the sixteenth century. In the present condition of the painting, undoubtedly retouched in places, it is difficult to make any confident conjecture. The figure of Shāh Jahān (whose features are all but effaced) does certainly appear cramped, as if introduced by a later hand. But if we imagine the group without the figure of Jahāngīr, I think that the figure of Akbar is too much in the background ; and this points to the conclusion that Jahāngīr was part of the group, as originally painted, if Shāh Jahān was not. Parvīz and the personage opposite to him—the figure in outline—are certainly rather awkwardly introduced. But the original painting may quite well have been the work of two hands.

Religious speculation, the habit of thought, contemplative ecstasy, are part of Indian life. And though the painters of the Mughal court were mainly occupied in depicting for their patrons either single portraits or scenes of gorgeous ceremony, or the pleasures of the chase, yet I think the drawings which make the most enduring impression are those which show us great princes resorting reverently to some teacher in his retirement. The subject is fairly frequent. The exquisite drawing in Captain Spencer-Churchill's collection (Plate VI) is an early example. The prince is so youthful that it might be rash to attempt to identify him. Is it Jahāngīr as a boy, or one of his brothers ? Whoever he is, the same princely youth, a year or two older, is portrayed on a similar visit in a charming miniature, more Persian in style than the last, in the British Museum (Stowe, Or. 16. 6 b). In the same album is the picture we reproduce (Plate XVI) of Parvīz, the son of Jahāngīr and elder brother of Shāh Jahān.



MĪRZĀ ABUL HASAN
BY HŪNHĀR

A group of Jahāngīr and his teacher alone is reproduced in colour by Vincent Smith (Plate 119). In the Johnson collection is the interesting group of Dārā Shikoh conversing with a fakir (Plate XXII). But the finest, the most felt and most complete of these subjects, so far as I know, is that reproduced on Plate XVII. Has Mughal art, indeed, anything more beautiful in its whole range than this painting? It is wholly Indian in feeling, in atmosphere, in handling. The immemorial life of the Indian fields goes on in its wide tranquillity around these seated figures—the emperor Shāh Jahān, divested of all his pomp, and the Mullah before whom he is reverently seated on a mat in front of the teacher's hut : and the whole scene is bathed in a tender quietness. We feel the happiness, which the painter must have had in escaping to this congenial atmosphere, overflow into his work.

With this lovely page we may mention another painting which seems to be unique in its way—the most remarkable picture of Dancing Dervishes belonging to Captain Spencer-Churchill (Plate XVIII). As a whole, this is by no means so beautiful as the painting just described. It is not very happy as a composition, and it contains elements borrowed from Europe. The building at the top of the design is a reminiscence of some Italian print. Two Europeans actually figure among the groups of spectators (though this of course is not uncommon in paintings of the period). But the group of Indian saints seated in a sort of frieze below the scene of the dervishes is of extraordinary beauty. The distinction of character, the dignity, the naturalness, the beautiful relation of the figures to each other—all this combines to make noble art. One is almost tempted to suspect that two hands are present in this painting. That would not be contrary to the practice of the Mughal school. Yet I doubt if, after all, this is the case.

There is a painting of dervishes dancing before the court

and ladies in the British Museum (Stowe, Or. 16), but this is later and far inferior work.

The drawing in Dārā Shikoh's album, 'Reading the Qur'ān' (Plate XXIII), is another charming example of a scene full of religious feeling.

Hūnhār's Group of Ascetics (Plate XXVIII), already mentioned, is thoroughly Hindu in atmosphere and contrasts strongly with the court portraits by the same artist. Here again there is portraiture of a fine kind.

IV.

The accession of Aurangzīb brought to the throne a prince inclined to strict observance of the Qur'ān, and totally averse from the large toleration of Akbar. The new emperor did not forbid the practice of painting, and the portrait-painters were still busy: but he was not interested in the arts; and artists in general, far from being honoured, lived in continual humiliation. Witness the acute and discerning Bernier, writing from Delhi in 1663, on the Indian art of that day:

'Workshops, occupied by skilful artisans, would be vainly sought for in *Dehli*, which has very little to boast in that respect. This is not owing to any inability in the people to cultivate the arts, for there are ingenious men in every part of the *Indies*. Numerous are the instances of handsome pieces of workmanship made by persons destitute of tools, and who can scarcely be said to have received instruction from a master. . . . I have often admired the beauty, softness, and delicacy of their paintings and miniatures, and was particularly struck with the exploits of *Ekbar*, painted on a shield by a celebrated artist, who is said to have been seven years in completing the picture. I thought it a wonderful performance. The *Indian* painters are chiefly deficient in just proportions, and in the expression of the face; but these defects would soon be cor-

PLATE XXX



ASAD KHĀN

LEANING ON A STICK

rected if they possessed good masters, and were instructed in the rules of art.

‘Want of genius, therefore, is not the reason why works of superior art are not exhibited in the capital. If the artists and manufacturers were encouraged, the useful and fine arts would flourish : but these unhappy men are contemned, treated with harshness, and inadequately remunerated for their labour. The rich will have every article at a cheap rate. . . . The artists, therefore, who arrive at any eminence in their art are those only who are in the service of the King or of some powerful *Omrah*, and who work exclusively for their patron.’¹

It is unlikely that the tradition of fine portraiture, which under the two preceding reigns had been so fruitful, would have maintained itself without enfeeblement. It was bound to lose freshness and impulse, if not to harden and freeze. Its scope afforded too little variety for new points of departure to be opened up. But outside of portraiture more was being done than before.

Mughal art in its first period had been mainly an art of illustration ; in its second and finest period it was almost wholly an art of portraiture. From the time of Aurangzib onwards, while the court art is less vigorous and less distinguished, there is a gradual reversion to more popular themes and to the atmosphere of native Indian life. The exotic Persian element has practically disappeared.

There are excellent portraits of Aurangzib as a young man, some of which have been already mentioned ; and there are characteristic portraits of him in old age, like that in the Johnson collection, vol. ii (reproduced by Vincent Smith, Plate 130) where he is seen at a window, white-bearded, with his head bowed over a book.

In this study we are mainly concerned with portraiture ; but as there is little to add to what has been already said about the

¹ Constable’s translation, revised by Vincent Smith.

portrait-painters of Jahāngīr's and Shāh Jahān's time, my few remaining pages shall be devoted to the other themes of Mughal art.

To return for the moment to Akbar's reign : towards the end of the British Museum Bābur-Nāmah MS. (Or. 3714) there are a number of paintings of animals, birds, trees, &c. These were made to illustrate Bābur's descriptions. Here we find elephants, rhinoceros, wild buffalo, and monkeys ; various kinds of antelopes ; a tree full of parrots ; peacocks ; quails, herons, partridges, and many other kinds of birds.

These studies are by different artists, the best known of whom is Mansūr. Eight of these drawings are from his hand. The 'Cock' and 'Quail' are reproduced by Vincent Smith, *History of Fine Art*, pp. 475, 476. A Crane by Mansūr is reproduced by Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*. Mansūr was a young man in Akbar's time ; he became famous in the reign of Jahāngīr, who gave him a title of nobility. His early style is delicate and small, but he has a true feeling for the character of the birds he depicts. Jagannāth is the author of the tiny, exquisite painting of peacocks, also reproduced by Vincent Smith. This painting is highly and justly praised by that author, though in this, as in the other paintings of this group, there is a want of relation between the natural birds and the decorative rocks.

The finest of these pages is undoubtedly the painting of a troop of wild elephants (p. 378). The painter here shows a real sympathy with the movements of these great creatures and weaves the moving forms into a beautiful design.

The painting of animals and birds for their own sake, as separate subjects, came to be a common practice of the Mughal painters later on, under Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān, and Aurangzīb.

In Akbar's time we find admirable painting of animals in the frequent hunting scenes, though perhaps never quite equal to the best Persian work of this kind, except as regards the elephants.



A LADY UNDER A BLOSSOMING TREE

The seventh-century frescoes of Ajantā contain elephants magnificently painted: and all through Indian art these animals, so intimately known and well understood, are portrayed with power and insight. Among drawings of the Mughal school one of the finest examples of elephants is in the Johnson collection (vol. iv, p. 2). This drawing is by Manohar. It is an unfinished Durbar drawing, of the same type as that reproduced (Plate XX), but showing Jahāngīr in the act of embracing Shāh Jahān on a balcony. The elephant is in the foreground (it is reproduced in small in Coomaraswamy's *Arts and Crafts of India*, fig. 174), and obviously is a portrait of a well-known animal.

Portraits of favourite horses are not uncommon subjects. Plate XXXVIII reproduces one of these. The fetlocks are painted red—symbol of the triumphant warrior whose horse waded through blood to victory. In the same album is a black-buck, led by a groom, walking in a meadow. The groom is a handsome young man, dressed from head to foot in olive-yellow. The buck has an orange-red coat on his back, powdered with a small gold pattern and fringed with gold: his horns are cased in similar fashion, and a bell hangs at his throat. The smooth meadow is edged with low dark bushes against a pale sky. All is dainty, speckless, sumptuous.

But, next to the elephants, perhaps one should give the highest praise to the hawks of these Indian painters. We reproduce in colour a beautiful example (Plate XXXIX). By the side of the best Chinese and Japanese paintings of this kind this falcon is a little lacking in vitality, a little flat. But the workmanship is very exquisite.

In the same album there is a curious painting in Persian style, apparently representing all the birds, beasts, and fishes of creation. A fantastic purple crag, of conical shape, rises up in the centre of the design, with blossoming shrubs growing upon it. A horse climbs up the crag; a group of horses is below.

A sinuous, scaly dragon coils up out of the rocks, where on one side are swarming snakes, and on the other a tiger, a leopard, and cheetahs. There is an elephant also, and a fabulous kind of crocodile ascends the rugged slope. Fishes are emerging from water in the foreground, while in the sky eagles and herons and other birds gather towards the mysterious mountain. A phoenix plumed with gold and scarlet hovers prominent in the air.

The non-human life of the world is here seen in a romantic aspect, fabulous creatures being admitted among real ones. And this romantic element, a love of beasts and birds for their strangeness, is often present in Mughal drawings of such subjects. We know what fantastic and absurd legends about animals and their nature and habits have obtained firm credence for long ages. The old bestiaries are full of them. The mediaeval bestiaries of Europe are familiar: the oriental bestiaries are less known. There is an Arabian bestiary in the British Museum, of an early date, and there are fine Persian examples. The indifference to scientific exactness in the text is matched by a preference for fancy over observation in the drawings, though when the animals are really familiar to the artists they are portrayed with truth and character.

Drawings of animals and birds in their own wild surroundings are less successful in the hands of these Indian painters than the same subjects when isolated. The artists have not that intense feeling for wild non-human life which can identify itself with the world that is unattached to humanity, and remote from it, untamed and independent. They do not apprehend the world as a whole, but have an exquisite vision of particular chosen beauties.

In their treatment of landscape the Mughal painters show the characteristics we should expect from this general weakness in synthetic grasp, and keen sensibility to beauty of detail.

Sir Thomas Roe, when he visited Jahāngīr, had a view of



FĀKHIR KHĀN AND HIS SON

the emperor's 'inward room, and the beauty thereof, which I confess was rich, but of so divers pieces and so unsuitable [i. e. inharmonious] that it was rather patched than glorious'. This was a shrewd criticism of the barbaric element still inhering in this sumptuous civilization, and reflected in its art, which is always concerned with objects and individuals rather than with the relations between them. The artists of Akbar's time take over the Persian conventions of landscape; the high horizon is common to all Asiatic landscape; but the Persians repeat with endless pleasure the same chosen beauties of nature, the great planes with mottled stems and coloured leaves, the rocks of pink or lilac tint, the brooks bordered by iris and mallow; the blossoming peach-trees, the blue skies with little curling white clouds that have come from China. In the period of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān this Persian landscape has almost disappeared. What little landscape there is, is Indian. Plate XVII, the original of which I have already claimed to be among the very finest of all Mughal drawings, is not least beautiful in the landscape element. Here for once the figures are related to their background in an intimate way; you feel the continuity of life.

Instead of a Persian influence we now find traces of a European influence. I should not be surprised if the drawing of Jahāngīr crossing a lake on a hunting expedition (Plate XIV) owed something in its landscape background to some European print. The shading of the mountain-masses on the horizon is Western in its character.

European influence is obvious in those frequent night-scenes where guests are seated round a fire, their faces bright and their backs in shadow, or the hunting-scenes where lanterns are used to daze and fascinate the quarry. The truly Indian—the universal Asian—way of treating a night-scene is to paint the figures just as clearly as if it were daylight, but to paint the starry or moonlit sky above them. Among the Rajput

paintings there are beautiful examples of this convention. Skies powdered with stars over the hills are rendered with extraordinary charm and feeling.

But such paintings as the hunting-scene in the Bodleian, which is here reproduced in colour, show that the Mughal artists, even when working in a convention borrowed from Europe and not fully understood, could produce things of great beauty. There are very numerous examples of this favourite subject of hunting by night : but this is by far the most beautiful I have seen.

The drawing in the British Museum reproduced on Plate XI is an example of the purely Indian landscape setting. The original is a lovely drawing, which cannot be appreciated truly without its colour ; the gold and pale red on the horizon sky, the ruddy fruit among the light-green leaves of the tree, the scarlet plumage of the two birds on a branch. There is a tender atmosphere in the whole which matches with the pensive attitude of the girl seated on the river bank. This may be a drawing of the early eighteenth century. The subject illustrates or symbolizes one of the *Rāgmālās* or Musical Modes which were so favourite a theme at this period. The style is Hindu, and akin to the style of Rajputana ; it is an example of that gradual assimilation to old native tradition which marks the later phases of the Mughal school. Yet there is a difference, discernible if we place such a drawing as this by a typical Pahari drawing. The Rajput painters express themselves in line ; it is the *music* of drawing (if I may be allowed the phrase) which absorbs them ; they have no interest in the accident of appearances ; but the Mughal painter, however Hindu, sees things and men more in the round ; he is always something of a portrait-painter.



MULLĀ SHĀH AND MIĀN MĪR

NOTES ON THE PLATES

Plate IV.

This picture, representing the emperor Bābur superintending the laying out of a garden, was painted by two of Akbar's painters, Nānhā, who painted in the faces, and Bishan Dās, who made the original sketch and painted all the rest.

Plate V.

Two dervishes invoking the blessing of God upon the emperor Humāyūn. On the left are two nobles whose names are given as Mīrzā Shāham and Lashkar Khān. The former was commonly known as Shāham Khān Jalāir, as belonging to the Jalāir clan of the Chaghatai tribe; his father was governor of Jaunpur, under Humāyūn; he served in the wars of Akbar and did good service, particularly in Bengal, and died during Akbar's siege of the great fortress of Asirgarh, in 1600. Muhammad Husain of Khurasan, known as Lashkar Khān, was made Paymaster-General and Superintendent of Petitions by Akbar; but one day he came to the Durbar drunk and challenged the courtiers to fight him; Akbar punished him by tying him to the tail of a horse, and put him in prison; he afterwards served in the Bengal campaign and died in 1575 of wounds received in the battle of Tukaroi, in which Akbar's generals defeated the Afghans and added Bengal to the Mughal empire.

The name of the Turkī page standing behind Humāyūn is given as Khushhāl Beg.

This picture is noteworthy as having been painted by one of Akbar's Hindu artists, Bhagvatī, in the traditional Persian manner.

Plate VII.

The princess Humāy playing polo, an episode from a romance entitled *Dārāb Nāmāh*, in which an account is given of the adventures of Dārāb, the son of Humāy, and of Sikandar, her grandson. The painting is by Sāṇwlah, one of Akbar's court painters.

Plate VIII.

This picture represents the following incident in the story of Alexander the Great as given in the *Qur'ān* (ch. xviii, 91-6):

'Then he followed a way, until when he came between the two mountains, beneath which he found a people that could hardly understand spoken words, they said, "O two-horned one, verily Gog and Magog are laying waste the land; shall we then pay thee tribute, on condition that thou make a rampart between us and them?" He said, "That wherein my Lord hath stablished me, is better; then help me strenuously and I will make a barrier between you and them; bring me lumps of iron"—until when it became level between the two sides of the mountains, he said, "Blow upon it"—until when he had made it fire, he said, "Bring me molten brass, that I may pour upon it". And they (Gog and Magog) were not able to scale it, nor were they able to dig through it. "This", he said, "is a mercy from my Lord."

Plate IX.

Akbar is here represented as inspecting the building of the city of Fathpur-Sikrī, where he took up his residence in 1571 and went on building until 1575.

An inscription at the bottom of this picture shows that it was the joint work of three of Akbar's painters: Tulsī drew the outlines, which were then painted over by Bandī, with the exception of the faces, which are the work of Mādhū the younger.

Plate XI.

Akbar riding an infuriated elephant.

The elephant appears to have broken loose from its bonds, the broken ends of which are seen hanging to its hind legs. Jahāngīr in his *Memoirs* (trans. A. Rogers, p. 38) refers to his father's skill



HUNTING BY NIGHT

in managing vicious elephants. 'His courage and boldness were such that he could mount raging rutting elephants, and subdue to obedience murderous elephants which would not allow their own females near them—although even when an elephant is bad-tempered he does no harm to the female or his driver—and which were in a state in which they might have killed their drivers or the females, or not have allowed their approach. He would place himself on a wall or a tree near which an elephant was passing that had killed its mahout and broken loose from restraint, and, putting his trust in God's favour, would throw himself on its back and thus, by merely mounting, would bring it under control and tame it.'

Plate XIII.

Within the pavilion, on the right side, is seated Humāyūn, and opposite him, on the left, his successors, Akbar, Jahāngīr, and Shāh Jahān. Outside the pavilion, behind Akbar, stands a son of Jahāngīr, Prince Parvīz (see note on Plate XVI).

Plate XIV.

Though the name Akbar is written over the principal figure in this picture, there is little doubt that it represents the emperor Jahāngīr. The low hills in this picture suggest that the scene of this boating-party is probably one of the two lakes in the neighbourhood of Ajmir, which Jahāngīr visited from 1613 to 1616; in his *Memoirs* (translated by A. Rogers and edited by H. Beveridge, p. 341) he gives a description of these lakes.

Plate XVI.

Prince Parvīz, son of Jahāngīr.

Sultān Parvīz, the second son of the emperor Jahāngīr, was born at Kabul in 1589. He enjoyed his father's confidence, especially on account of his loyalty at the time of the rebellion of his elder brother, Prince Khusrāu, in 1606, after the suppression of which Parvīz was given the rank of 10,000 and presented with the special kind of umbrella which was one of the emblems of royalty. He was put in command of the expedition to the Deccan in 1609, but

the campaign was badly managed and ended in failure. Through Nūr Jahān's influence, Parvīz was in 1622 appointed heir-apparent, and made an attempt to capture Shāh Jahān, who had broken out into open revolt and was compelled to flee before his brother's forces into Bengal. He died of drink in 1625 at Burhanpur. According to the medical science of those days, the doctors cauterized him in five places on the head and forehead, but their remedies were of no avail. Jahāngīr in his *Memoirs* makes frequent mention of the rich presents he gave to Parvīz from time to time, e. g. a ruby worth 60,000 rupees, a rosary of pearls worth 10,000 rupees, &c.

Plate XIX.

This remarkable series of ascetics, which forms the predella of a picture of dervishes dancing in ecstasy, gives an ideal representation of some of the chief Hindu religious reformers and teachers from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. In no case can it be assumed that we have here an authentic portrait of the saint whose name is written on each separate figure, but the representations are remarkably true to type, and such faces may be seen in India even to the present day. The history of most of these Hindu saints is very obscure, and the chronology uncertain; their followers were more concerned to hand down the teachings of the master than to put on record the facts of his life, and extravagant and often contradictory legends take the place of sober biography, while of any contemporary portraiture there is no evidence whatever. Four of the personages in this picture were disciples of the Vaishnava reformer, Rāmānanda, whose traditional date is 1299 to 1410 A. D.; it is more probable that he was born about the beginning of the fifteenth century and died about 1470. The main feature of Rāmānanda's reform was that he made no distinction between Brahmins and members of the degraded castes of Hindu society; he connected his religious teaching with the worship of Rāma and was one of the first Hindu teachers to use the vernacular for the propagation of his creed. Reading from left to right, the names assigned to the figures in the top row are (i) Rai Dās (flor. 1470), a disciple of Rāmānanda, who belonged to the degraded caste of workers in leather. (ii) Pīpā (born 1425) was a Rajput, and was said to have been a raja who abdicated his sovereignty and distributed his wealth among the poor when he became a disciple



AURANGZIB

By ANUPCHATAR

of Rāmānanda. (iii) Nāmdev, a Vaishnava reformer of the Maratha country, was a tailor, who lived in the early part of the fifteenth century; he inveighed against idol-worship and extolled righteousness and the love of God above pilgrimages, fasts, and sacrifices. (iv) Sain, a barber at the court of the Raja of Rewa, was another disciple of Rāmānanda, and wrote hymns in imitation of those of his master; he used to perform menial offices for holy men, believing that the service of saints was equivalent to the service of God himself. (v) Kamāl was the reputed son of Kabīr and the founder of one of the twelve branches of the Kabīr Panthīs. (vi) Aughar is the name of a class of Saiva ascetics, who drink spirituous liquors and eat meat; the name is here applied either to a typical representative of the sect, which was reformed under the influence of Kabīr, or to the reputed founder. (vii) Kabīr, the greatest of the followers of Rāmānanda, was the son of a Muhammadan weaver, and attacked idol-worship and Brahmans unsparingly. In the lower row, (viii) Pīr Muchhandar was a friend of Kabīr. (ix) Gorakh was a Saiva ascetic, a contemporary of Kabīr, with whom he is said to have held a controversy; his followers have their ears bored and rings inserted in them at the time of their initiation, and live as ascetics either singly or in communities. (x) The appellation of this ascetic appears to be Jīva Rūp, and comprises the names of two of the disciples of Chaitanya (1485-1533), the Vaishnava reformer of Bengal—Rūp, one of his chief pupils, a man of learning and author of a number of works in which are embodied the teachings of Chaitanya, and Jīva, the nephew of Rūp, who was likewise an author. (xi) Lāl Swāmī, see note on Plate XXII. (xii) The name of this personage is uncertain; it may possibly be Pīr Panth Swāmī.

A possible interpretation of the name of the ascetic described under (x) is Jadrūp, of whom the emperor Jahāngīr has given a detailed account in his Memoirs (translated by A. Rogers, vol. i. 355-6; ii. 52, 104-6).

Plate XX.

Durbar of Shāh Jahān.

As one of the nobles, Khwāja Abul-Hasan (No. 7), here represented died in 1632, this picture must represent an early durbar of Shāh Jahān's reign. It is probably the one held in

February 1628, when Āṣaf Khān (No. 8), who had brought the three young princes (Nos. 11, 12, 13) from Lahore to Agra, paid homage, and was given the title of Yamīn ud-Daulah ('the right hand of the state') and the rank of 8,000 (which no official had hitherto received), together with a number of rich presents.

This picture is of considerable historical value, because the names of most of the nobles present are given, and these authentic portraits by a contemporary artist may assist in the identification of some of the unnamed Mughal portraits in public and private collections.

1. Name illegible.

2. Qulij Khān Tūrānī, who was given a mansab of 2,500 by Shāh Jahān on his accession, was successively appointed governor of the Panjab, Allahabad, Multan, and Kandahar, with an increase of his mansab up to 5,000. He died in 1654.

3. Shaikh Nāzir, the major-domo of the royal household; his name is not given.

4. Rao Amar Singh, the eldest son of Rājā Gaj Singh Rāthor (No. 5), who in the second year of Shāh Jahān's reign held the rank of 2,000. He served with distinction in the Deccan and in Afghanistan, and after the death of his father in 1638 he received the title of Rao and was raised to the rank of 3,000. He appears to have been a drunkard, and having in 1644 absented himself from court through illness brought on by his intemperate habits, on his reappearance in durbar he stabbed to death Salābat Khān, the Paymaster-General, who had inquired the reason for his protracted absence. Hereupon, several of the courtiers set upon him; he defended himself vigorously, but was cut down near one of the gates of the fort at Agra, which is still called after his name.

5. Gaj Singh, Rājā of Jodhpur and head of the great Rāthor clan of the Rajputs, was Shāh Jahān's maternal uncle, as his sister, Jodh Bai, was the emperor's mother. He was one of Shāh Jahān's generals in the campaign in the Deccan. He died in 1638.

6. Mīrzā Abū Tālib, entitled successively Shāyista Khān (by which name he is commonly known), Khān Jahān, and Amīr ul



RECEPTION OF AN EMBASSY BY AURANGZIB

Umarā, was the eldest son of Āṣaf Khān (No. 8), and thus brother-in-law of Shāh Jahān. He held various offices, was governor of Birar in 1638 and of Gujarat in 1652. In 1656 he was appointed by Aurangzīb (at that time viceroy of the Deccan) as lieutenant to his eldest son, Muhammad Sultān, in the campaign against Golconda. In the war of succession, in 1658, he served with Dārā Shikoh, but betrayed him by giving intelligence to Aurangzīb; as a reward he was made viceroy of the Deccan, and in 1666 viceroy of Bengal, replacing Mīr Jumla (No. 37). He died at an advanced age, about ninety-five years, in 1694. He was a man of immense wealth and left a large fortune to his heirs. He bequeathed to Aurangzīb two hundred millions of coin in gold and silver, two hundred millions of jewels, besides an enormous number of elephants, camels, and horses.

7. Khwāja Abul Hasan Turbatī, entitled Rukn us Saltanat ('the pillar of the kingdom'), came from Turbat in Khurasan and took service in the Deccan under Akbar's third son, Dāniyāl. Shortly after the accession of Jahāngīr, he came to court and soon rose to high favour and received a mansab of 5,000. He was employed in the suppression of the rebellion of Prince Shāh Jahān in 1622-3, and was with Nūr Jahān when she made her unsuccessful attempt to rescue the emperor from Mahābat Khān in 1626 (see p. 22). He died in 1632.

8. Mīrzā Abul Hasan, who successively received the titles of I'timād Khān, Āṣaf Khān (by which name he is generally known), Yamīn ud-Daulah, and Khān Khānān. He was the brother of Nūr Jahān and father of Mumtāz Mahall, the wife of Shāh Jahān. He became prime minister of Jahāngīr in the last year of that emperor's reign, and by his astute management after Jahāngīr's death secured the accession of Shāh Jahān. He imprisoned the rival claimants in the fort of Lahore, and when Shāh Jahān had come from the Deccan to Agra and seated himself on the imperial throne, Āṣaf Khān brought the young princes, Dārā Shikoh (No. 11), Shujā' (No. 12), and Aurangzīb (No. 13), who were his grandchildren, to Agra, and after being loaded with honours was confirmed in his post as prime minister. After the death of Mahābat Khān (No. 14), in 1633, he was made commander-in-chief. He died in 1641 at Lahore, where his tomb, built by order of Shāh Jahān, with a lofty dome, is

situated between those of Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān. He left enormous wealth, all of which was confiscated by Shāh Jahān, who, however, made separate provision for Aṣaf Khān's eight children. He is said to have been a shrewd man of business, and personally examined the accounts of the officers of the exchequer; he was well read and wrote in an elegant style; he dispensed a generous hospitality and lived in splendid magnificence, and was gentle and affable towards his dependents and others.

9. Shāh Jahān, born 1592, came to the throne 1628, imprisoned by Aurangzib in the fort at Agra in 1658; died 1666 (see pp. 24-5).

10. Daulat Khān, known as Khawāṣṣ Khān, was a handsome young man who attracted the attention of Jahāngīr and was given a post in the royal household. When Shāh Jahān came to the throne, he received the rank of 2,500 and was entrusted with important military duties. He was made governor of Sind in 1635 and governor of Kandahar in 1646, with the rank of 5,000. In 1649 he pusillanimously surrendered this strongly fortified and well-provisioned city to 'Abbās II, Shāh of Persia, after a siege of two months, and returned in disgrace to India. Aurangzib arrived with reinforcements after the capitulation, but was unable to recover the city.

11. Dārā Shikoh, born 1615, eldest son of Shāh Jahān; put to death by Aurangzib 1659 (see pp. 26-9).

12. Shujā', born 1616, second son of Shāh Jahān, was intelligent, brave, and skilful in diplomacy, but his love of pleasure made his high qualities ineffective. Manucci describes him (about 1656) as a lover of songs, dances, and women, among whom he spent days without giving audience, drinking wine to excess, and spending a great deal of money on dancing women, to whom he gave valuable jewels and clothes. He had such a high idea of himself that he despised his opponents and neglected to take due precautions. He was viceroy of Bengal in 1657, when Shāh Jahān was expected to die, and he proclaimed himself emperor. After Aurangzib defeated him in the battle of Khajwah, in 1659, he fled over the frontier of Arakan and was heard of no more (see p. 25).



KĀMBAKSH

SON OF AURANGZĪB

13. Aurangzib, born 1618, third son of Shāh Jahān, ascended the throne 1658, died 1707 (see pp. 29-31).

14. Zamāna Beg, Mahābat Khān (by which title he is commonly known), Khān Khānān, a favourite officer of Jahāngīr, who on his accession gave him the title of Mahābat Khān, with a mansab of 1,500, and made him paymaster of his household. He was appointed commander-in-chief in 1622 and put in command of the army that suppressed the rebellion of Prince Shāh Jahān in 1623. For the incident of his seizing the person of the emperor in 1626, see p. 22. Shāh Jahān made him governor of Delhi in 1630 and viceroy of the Deccan in 1631. He died in 1633.

15. Unnamed.

16. Mīrzā Rustam, a prince of Kandahar, of the royal blood of Persia, who, threatened by the Uzbegs, took refuge in the court of Akbar in 1593. He was made governor of Multan. Jahāngīr continued him in high office and made him governor of Allahabad and finally of Bihār. He was governor of Bihār at the time of the accession of Shāh Jahān, who replaced him by Khān 'Ālam (No. 17) and assigned to him a pension of 120,000 rupees a year, as he was too old for further service. One of his daughters married Prince Parviz, Shāh Jahān's elder brother, and another daughter, Dārā Shikoh (No. 11). He died in 1641 at the age of 72.

17. Khān 'Ālam Mīrzā Barkhurdār, a favourite officer of Jahāngīr, who gave him the title of Khān 'Ālam and sent him in 1617 with a magnificent retinue to Persia as ambassador to Shāh 'Abbās I, by whom he was well received. He returned to India in 1620 and was raised to the rank of 5,000. Shāh Jahān appointed him governor of Bihār, in place of Mīrzā Rustam (No. 16), but he was addicted to opium and neglected his duties, so he was deprived of this post before a year was out, and was compelled to retire on a pension. He died some time after 1631.

18. Unnamed.

19. Amān Ullāh Khān Zamān Bahādur Mīrzā, son of Mahābat Khān (No. 14), did good service in Kabul, and afterwards in Bengal under his father, whom he replaced as governor of Bengal in 1624. When Jahāngīr died, he was associated with Āṣaf Khān

(No. 8) in the measures taken for the accession of Shāh Jahān, and was rewarded by the emperor with the rank of 5,000, the title of Khān Zamān, and the governorship of Malwa. He held other high offices, especially in the Deccan, where he died during the campaign of 1637. He is said to have been one of the bravest and most competent military officers of the period.

20. Qāsim Khān is a fairly common name, but this portrait may with some probability be identified with an officer of Shāh Jahān's army, who received the title of Mu'tamid Khān, and was at one time in command of the ordnance. He served with distinction at Balkh and Kandahar. He was sent with Rājā Jaswant Singh in command of the imperial army to check the advance of Aurangzīb and Murād Bakhsh, but was utterly defeated in the battle of Dharmat (April 15, 1658). When, a few months later, Aurangzīb entered Agra and made Shāh Jahān a prisoner, Qāsim Khān made his submission, along with other nobles, and was well rewarded. He was murdered by his own brother about 1660.

21. Wazīr Khān. There were several officials of this name : (i) Muhammad Sālīh Wazīr Khān, who was dīwān or finance minister to Dārā Shikoh and was killed at the battle of Samugarh in 1658, when his master was defeated by Aurangzīb ; (ii) Wazīr Khān Muhammad Ṭāhir, who held a similar office under Aurangzīb when in 1636 the young prince was appointed viceroy of the Deccan by Shāh Jahān ; he died about 1666 ; (iii) Wazīr Khān Hakīm 'Alīm ud-Dīn, who was in the service of Shāh Jahān when prince, and was raised by him on his accession to the rank of 5,000, and later on was appointed governor of the Panjab ; he died in 1640.

22. Rājā Bethal Dās, who was given by Shāh Jahān on his accession the rank of 3,000 ; he was a dashing and gallant soldier, and was employed by the emperor in the Deccan, Balkh, and Kandahar ; he took part in Prince Aurangzīb's unsuccessful attempt to retake the last-mentioned city in 1649 ; on his return to court with the prince, he obtained leave to go home, and died there in 1651. Shāh Jahān had great confidence in his loyalty and fidelity, and had left him in charge of the fort at Agra when he visited Lahore in 1638 ; the emperor was much grieved at his death and made generous provision for his sons.



23. This portrait is unnamed, but the style and size of the turban indicate a man of learning, and the station, so near the throne, marks the possession of high rank. It is probably Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārī, who held the exalted office of Ṣadr us-Ṣudūr. This official ranked as the fourth in the empire; he was the highest ecclesiastical functionary in the state and was the head of all the law officers, and controlled the grants of land for religious or charitable purposes. Sayyid Jalāl died in 1647.

24. Murād Bakhsh, the youngest son of Shāh Jahān, born 1624, grew up to be a foolish, pleasure-loving prince, whose personal bravery did not make amends for his political incapacity. At the time of Shāh Jahān's illness, in 1657, he was viceroy of Gujarāt. After proclaiming himself emperor, he joined forces with Aurangzib, and took part in the battle of Samugarh (1658), but the fruits of the victory fell to Aurangzib, who, a few weeks after his entry into Agra, seized Murād Bakhsh and had him shut up in the state prison at Delhi. In 1659 he was removed to Gwalior and put to death there three years later.

25. Unnamed.

26. This name appears to be Mīr Hasan, and is insufficient for the purpose of identification.

27. Ṣādiq Khān, Mīr Bakhshī (Paymaster-General), a trusted officer of Jahāngir, confirmed in his office and emoluments by Shāh Jahān. He died in 1633. His eldest son, Ja'far Khān, was Aurangzib's wazīr from 1664 until his death in 1670.

28. Mīrzā Sultān, a Persian related to the royal family of the Safavis, who spent the greater part of his military service in the Deccan and was with Prince Aurangzib at the siege of Golconda in 1656. The date of his death is not known.

29. Muzaffar Husain, A'zam Khān Koka, generally known as Fidāi Khān, a favourite official in the service of Shāh Jahān, who gave him various posts at court, such as that of superintendent of the elephants, superintendent of the mace-bearers, &c. Aurangzib sent him with the army that pursued Shujā' (No. 12) into Bengal, and later on made him his chief artillery officer. He succeeded Mahābat Khān (No. 14) in the government of Kabul, and behaved

with great gallantry in fighting the Afghans and was in consequence given the title of A'zam Khān Koka. He was made viceroy of Bengal, after the retirement of Shāyista Khān (No. 6), in 1677. In the following year he was transferred to Bihār, in order to make room for the emperor's son, Prince Muhammad A'zam, but died on his way to take up his new duties, in 1678.

30. Mūsavī Khān was an eminent ecclesiastic and held the office of Sadr (judge) under Shāh Jahān, with the rank of 4,500. He died in 1644.

31. Mīrzā Badī' uz-Zamān, son of Mīrzā Rustam (No. 16), who received from Shāh Jahān the title of Shāh Nawāz Khān (by which he is commonly known). He held several high posts, especially in the Deccan. He was governor of Ahmadabad when Dārā Shikoh (No. 11) took refuge there, in 1658, and was in command of his artillery in the battle of Ajmere (1659), and was put to death after the defeat and flight of Dārā Shikoh. His daughter, Dilras Bānū, was married to Aurangzīb in 1637; she died two years before her father.

32. Mullā Shukr Ullāh, of Shiraz, with the title Afzal Khān, which was given him at the request of Prince Shāh Jahān, whose service he had entered in the Deccan. On his succession, Shāh Jahān raised him to the rank of 4,000 and appointed him Mīr Sāmān (major-domo), and in the following year made him chief dīwān. He died in 1639 at the age of 70. He was a skilled accountant and mathematician, and a man of upright life. Shāh Jahān often said that during twenty-eight years of service he had never heard Afzal Khān utter an ill word against any one.

33. Sayyid Abul Muzaffar Khān, a member of the illustrious Bārha family, who was known as Mīrān Shāh Khān Jahān, was a distinguished military officer who took part in the suppression of the revolt of the Bundelas in 1629, and in other campaigns. He died in 1645.

34. Rao Karn Bhūrīṭha, of Bikanir, who served chiefly in the Deccan; in Aurangzīb's reign he rose to the rank of 2,500. He died in 1666.

35. Rājā Anūp Singh Badgūjar, a Rajput who entered the service of Akbar at the end of his reign, and received from Jahāngīr the

PLATE XXXIX



FALCON ON PERCH

title of Anī Rai Singhdalan (the tiger-slayer), because of his bravery at a tiger-hunt when the emperor was exposed to great danger. On the death of his father, Anūp Singh was given the title of Rājā by Shāh Jahān. He died in 1637.

36. Khān-i-Sāmān, an officer of high rank, who controlled the imperial household and stores. Not identified.

37. Mīr Jumla, the title of Mīr Muhammad Sa'īd, a Persian merchant, who came to India in 1618, and, after having acquired great wealth, entered the service of the king of Golconda and became his chief minister. But, having fallen under the suspicion of the king, he intrigued with Prince Aurangzīb, and transferred his allegiance to Shāh Jahān, who gave him the rank of 5,000 and conferred on him the titles of Wazīr-i-A'zam and Mu'azzam Khān. In the war of succession (1658), Mīr Jumla espoused the cause of Aurangzīb, who sent him in pursuit of Shujā' and made him viceroy of Bengal. He died in 1663 during a campaign in Assam.

38. Abu'l Baqā Amīr Khan (son of a Sayyid of Hirat, who had entered the service of Akbar), was made governor of Multan by Jahāngīr. Shāh Jahān raised his rank, and bestowed on him important positions of trust, and gave him the title of Amir Khān. At the time of his death, in 1647, he was governor of Tattah (Sind).

39. Rizā Bahādur, who had been brought up along with Shāh Jahān, was, on the accession of the emperor, given the rank of 2,000, and appointed master of the ceremonies.

40. Saif Khan Mīrzā Ṣafī had come under the notice of Shāh Jahān, before his accession, in Gujarāt, and was afterwards appointed by him governor of Bihār and to other high offices. He died in 1639.

41. Allāhverdī Khān, a noble of the court of Jahāngīr, was raised to the rank of 5,000 by Shāh Jahān. In the war of the succession he was the chief adviser of Prince Shujā' (No. 12), but, suborned by Aurangzīb, he behaved treacherously to Shujā', who put him to death in 1659.

42. Makramat Khān, after spending some time with Mahābat Khān, entered the service of Shāh Jahān and was given an appointment in the department of finance, with a mansab of 1,200; he

served with distinction in the campaign against the Bundelas in 1635, and was afterwards sent as imperial envoy to the king of Bijapur. In 1641 his rank was raised to 3,000 and he was made governor of the province of Delhi, and, later, of Mathura, with the rank of 4,000.

43. It is not clear whether this name is Mu'taqid Khān or Mu'tamid Khān. The former was governor of Jaunpur at the time of his death, in 1651; the latter was commissioned by Jahāngīr to complete his Memoirs, was appointed Paymaster-General by Shāh Jahān in 1637, and died in 1639.

44. Mukhlis Khān, brother of Allāhverdī Khān (No. 41), was given the rank of 2,000 by Shāh Jahān on his accession, afterwards raised to 3,000. He died in 1638.

Plate XXII.

Prince Dārā Shikoh (see pp. 26-9) visiting Lāl Sāhib Faqīr. Lāl Swāmī (who also appears in the group of ascetics in Plate XIX, No. xi) was a Kshatriya, born in Malwa in the reign of Jahāngīr; after having been initiated, he settled near Sirhind, in the Panjāb, where he built himself a hermitage, together with a temple, and was visited by a large number of disciples. Among those who were attracted by his teaching was Dārā Shikoh; two learned Hindus who were in this prince's service have recorded, in a work entitled *Nādir al-nikāt*, the conversations that took place between the Swāmī and the prince during seven interviews between them in the year 1649.

Plate XXV.

Shaikh Shīr Muhammad.

This may possibly be Shīr Muhammad Dīwāna ('the madman'), who was an adopted son of Bairām Khān, the guardian of Akbar when the young prince ascended the throne after the death of Humāyūn. When, in 1560, Akbar resolved to take the reins of power into his own hands and dismissed Bairām Khān, and the deposed minister, smarting at the indignities to which he was exposed, attempted rebellion, he placed his family and property in the charge of Shīr Muhammad; but nothing further appears to be known of this man.



GIRL UNDER A TREE BY A RIVER

Plate XXVI.

‘Alā ul-Mulk Tūmī.

A Persian, from the city of Tūn in the province of Kuhistān, who came to India about 1634 and attached himself to Nawāb Āsaf Khān, the brother of Nūr Jahān; after the death of Āsaf Khān, in 1641, he entered the service of Shāh Jahān, who gave him an appointment in the ministry of finance, and in 1645 made him superintendent of the examination of petitions and, later on, Khān-i-Sāmān—the title of a high officer who was at once Lord High Steward and Lord Chamberlain and controlled the whole expenditure of the royal household. In 1649 he was given the title of Fāzil Khān, and five years later his rank was raised to 3,000.

When, in 1658, after the defeat of Dārā Shikoh and the imperial forces in the battle of Samugarh, Aurangzib encamped outside the city of Agra, Fāzil Khān was sent by Shāh Jahān with a letter inviting his son to an interview with him in the fort, and succeeded in persuading Aurangzib to consent to the proposal. On the following day, Fāzil Khān repeated the invitation of the emperor and brought rich presents of jewels, &c., but he found that other counsels had prevailed and that Aurangzib would not run the risk of falling into a trap by entering the fort. A third time did the aged chamberlain plead the cause of his master, but had to return to Shāh Jahān and report that the matter had gone beyond the stage of sending letters and messages. Aurangzib reduced the fort to submission by cutting off the water-supply, and it was Fāzil Khān who had to convey the last appeal of the emperor, exhausted with thirst in the burning heat of an Indian summer—only to be sent back with a stern demand for the surrender of the fort.

Fāzil Khān's high qualities and loyal character appear to have gained for him the respect and confidence of Aurangzib, who placed him in charge of the captive emperor and entrusted him with the management of the palace in which he was confined.

In the second year of his reign, Aurangzib raised Fāzil Khān to the rank of 4,000 (increased three years later to 5,000) and gave him an important post in the ministry of finance. He was appointed to the highest office in the State, that of prime minister, in 1663, but had hardly entered on his duties when he fell seriously ill, and

died after having held office for little more than a fortnight ; at the time of his death he was nearly seventy years of age.

He was a man of blameless character, and of sound judgement and tact. Among other branches of learning, he was especially known for his proficiency in astronomy, mathematics, and physical science. He was able to put his knowledge of hydrostatics to practical account when a great engineering scheme for bringing water to Lahore proved to be a failure ; for under Fāzil Khān's directions a large part of the irrigation canal was remade and the city and its gardens were thereby supplied with abundant water. His portrait is a fine example of the cultivated Muhammadan gentleman.

Plate XXVII.

Ṣādiq Khān, see Plate XX (No. 27).

Plate XXIX.

A portrait by Hūnhār of Mirzā Abul Hasan, better known as Āṣaf Khān, in the prime of life ; see note on Plate XX (No. 8).

Plate XXX.

Muhammad Ibrāhīm, the grandson of Ṣādiq Khān (Plate XX, No. 27) and son-in-law of Āṣaf Khān (id., No. 8), was one of the favourite nobles of Shāh Jahān, who appointed him Master of the Horse and gave him the title of Asad Khān. When Aurangzīb shut his father up in the fort of Agra, Shāh Jahān commended Asad Khān to the new emperor as a trusty and loyal servant, and Aurangzīb had the wisdom to recognize his merit and entrusted him with important offices at court. During the last thirty-seven years of Aurangzīb's reign, Asad Khān was his chief minister, and in 1702 he received the exalted title of Amīr ul-Umarā. He retained the confidence of Aurangzīb's son, Bahādur Shāh (1707-12), until the infirmities of old age compelled him to retire, but his son, Zulfiqār Khān, acted as his deputy, until the accession of Jahāndār Shāh (1712). When this profligate monarch was put to death by his nephew, Farrukhsiyar, in the following year, Asad Khān fell upon evil days. His son, Zulfiqār Khān, was put to death, and he himself was imprisoned, his property confiscated, and

nothing left to him but a grant of 100 rupees a day for his personal expenses. He died soon after, in 1716, at the great age of 90.

As a young man he is said to have been handsome and accomplished; and though he entered on his career under unusually favourable circumstances and achieved so much success, he was praised for his benevolent disposition and for treating his inferiors with kindness and gentleness. He lived in lavish splendour like a grand seigneur, and even his abundant revenues did not suffice to meet the expenses of his harem and the musicians and singers that he patronized. Fortune reserved its heaviest blows for the close of his life; his biographer says, 'From the beginning of his career he was successful, and always threw double sixes into the cup of his desires, but heaven—that deceitful dicer—played unfairly the last hand with him.'

Plate XXXII.

Fākhir Khān and his son.

Fākhir Khān entered the service of Shāh Jahān in the third year of that emperor's reign, when he brought presents from his father, who was at that time governor of Orissa. When his father died, in 1637, he was raised to the rank of 2,000, but for some reason or other, later on, fell into disfavour, and remained without any fief for a time. About 1648 he was confirmed in his old rank and was appointed to the office of Mīr Tūzuk. But, again for some reason unrecorded, he got into trouble, and was for a time excluded from attendance in durbar; but about 1654 he was restored to his rank, at the request of Dārā Shikoh. In the battle of Samugarh (1658), he commanded the left wing of Dārā Shikoh's army, and after the defeat fled to Lahore. He made his submission to Aurangzīb after his accession, but was deprived of his mansab and lived in Agra on a pension. He died about 1681. His son, Iftikhār, held the rank of 700 under Shāh Jahān, but was raised to the rank of 1,000 by Aurangzīb and given the title of Mafākhir Khān.

Plate XXXIII.

Mullā Shāh and Mīān Mīr.

Shaikh Mīr Muhammad (on the right), generally known as Mīān Mīr, born in Sistan in 1550, was a dervish of the Qādirī order. He

migrated to Lahore, where he lived and taught for more than sixty years; he died in 1635 and his tomb is still a place of pilgrimage, in the neighbourhood of Lahore. Dārā Shikoh wrote a life of this saint. Opposite to him, on the left, sits Mullā Shāh, a native of Badakhshān, who was a disciple of Mīān Mir, and the spiritual guide of Dārā Shikoh. He died in Kashmir about 1660.

Plate XXXVI.

Reception of a Persian embassy by Aurangzīb.

In 1661 Shāh 'Abbās II sent an embassy to congratulate Aurangzīb on his accession to the throne; as envoy, he appointed Būdāq Beg, the captain of his musketeers, who, with his right hand raised to his turban, stands saluting the emperor, in front of the group on the left. Aurangzīb attached great importance to the observance of the ceremonial of the Mughal court on this occasion, and was not content with the ordinary Persian mode of salutation by placing both hands on the breast. In the foreground, and on the extreme left of the picture, are some presents, sent by the Shāh, which included 66 fine, powerful horses, 18 camels, 60 cases of rose-water, and a number of other precious objects, including a pearl valued at 60,000 rupees.

The three personages standing on the balcony opposite the emperor are presumably his second son, Sultān Mu'azzam (born in 1643), his third son, Sultān A'zam (born in 1653), and 'Alā ul-Mulk Tūnī (see Plate XXVI). Aurangzīb's eldest son was at this date a prisoner in the fortress of Gwalior, and so is not represented in this picture.

Plate XXXVII.

Prince Kāmbakhsh, son of Aurangzīb.

Kāmbakhsh, the youngest and favourite son of Aurangzīb, was born in 1667. He accompanied his father to the Deccan in 1681, and was made governor of Bijapur and Golconda, after their surrender. He refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of his eldest brother, the emperor Bahādur Shāh, who succeeded in 1707, and was defeated in a battle near Golconda, where he was mortally wounded by an arrow, in 1709.

T

PRESIDENT'S
SECRETARIAT
LIBRARY

T